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ABSTRACT

A transcript of testimony given before the U.S. Senate's Special Subcommittee on Indian Education on March 30, 1968, in Flagstaff, Arizona, is presented in this document, which is Part 3 of the hearings proceedings (Part 1 is RC 003 556; Part 2 is RC 003 557). Part 3 contains testimony by various witnesses, including tribal members in leadership positions, an Indian high school student, the director of Rough Rock Demonstration School, 2 public school superintendents, a principal, a school board member, and a teacher. Also included in Part 3 are resource materials such as papers, articles, communications, and reports which were entered as exhibits. Major emphasis was on the Navajo, Hopi, and Apache tribes. (LS)

# INDIAN EDUCATION

## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INDIAN EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETIETH CONGRESS

FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS

ON

THE STUDY OF THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN

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## PART 3

MARCH 30, 1968

FLAGSTAFF, ARIZ.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
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# INDIAN EDUCATION

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SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1968

U.S. Senate,
Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,
*Flagstaff, Ariz.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:10 a.m., in the Student Activity Building, Northern Arizona University, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senators Kennedy (presiding) and Fannin.

Committee staff present: Adrian Parmeter and John Gray, professional staff members of the subcommittee.

## STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Senator Kennedy of New York. The hearings will come to order.

I am delighted to be in the State of my colleague, Senator Fannin. It was the initiative of Senator Fannin that established our committee on Indian education. He was greatly interested, I know, as Governor of this State. He has been very much committed to this subject since he has been in the Senate of the United States.

I think between Senator Fannin, Senator Harris, of Oklahoma, and Senator McGovern, of South Dakota, more effort has been made on behalf of the Indian than at any other previous time. We recognize our special responsibility to the first citizens. We recognize also that we haven't met that obligation. We have had treaty obligations and made promises to the Indians which we have not kept.

We are here to examine the subject to see if we can make some suggestion, not only to the legislative branch of the Government, but to the executive branch of the Government as well, to improve the education of the Indian child.

Statistics show quite clearly how we have failed—65 percent of the Indian children dropping out of school, a high unemployment rate in many parts of the United States, a feeling of hopelessness and despair among Indian children, and we have not done what we should have done to encourage the Indian child to improve his education, to increase his educational possibilities, to go on to a university or college, indeed, to become the lawyers, doctors, engineers, and teachers that they are capable of becoming.

The whole history and culture of the Indian here in the United States has shown that they can take on this position of leadership, take on the position of direction and responsibility, and it is by the fact that we have failed the Indian child that he has not in some cases, and in

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many areas, lived up to his potential. We want to rectify that, and both Senator Fannin and I are committed to that.

I am sorry that I personally have missed the last 2 days of fieldwork. We had scheduled some hearings and then something came up, such as my running for President, so I am involved in that endeavor. At times, I want to assure you, that I'd rather be with the Indians, but I also feel that although I want to do all I can as chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education that I think it is very likely that I could do more for the Indians as President of the United States. But, in any case, whatever it might be I am delighted to be here with my colleague and I just give that as an explanation as to why I haven't been here during the full period of fieldwork, how interested I am, and I know how much Senator Fannin has accomplished by proceeding. So, I am delighted to be here and I am looking forward to hearing from the witnesses and I am pleased to be in the State of my colleague, Senator Fannin, whom I now turn the hearing over to.

## STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL J. FANNIN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA

Senator FANNIN. Thank you Chairman Kennedy. It is a privilege to have you here with us in Arizona and to have had the opportunity to work with you in this endeavor.

We have, Senator Kennedy, some very famous people here in this room, many that are very well informed in the programs that we are discussing here today. We have Annie Wauneka who won the President's Freedom Award. She is a great leader.

Would you mind just standing?

I think you had the privilege of meeting her last night at Window Rock.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. And previously also.

Senator FANNIN. Previously, fine.

We have a program that has taken us to many areas of the country, but I think most importantly here in Arizona. We are here to listen to the people who have a vital interest in Indian education. This committee was formed for the specific purpose of going to you, the leaders throughout the Nation, to get your ideas and your thoughts as to what can best be done to educate our Indian youngsters. We are very proud of these youngsters and I know that as we have traveled around, both here in Arizona and in other States, I know that as Senator Kennedy has been in Idaho and California and other States, we have observed that these youngsters have abilities.

In the last 2 days I have had the privilege of visiting four major Indian Reservations here in my home State to talk with the Indian leaders, parents, children, and school officers, and this is what we wanted to do and what we are going to do. We have learned very much, both in the past 2 days and our past trips to California, Oklahoma, and other places. We have seen successes and failures—mediocrity and excellence on the part of schools, teachers, and others working with these children.

There are many of you here in this room whom I would like to recognize but we do not have time. But, I would like to say that I could give an illustration of what can be done by a person serving on a school board. At the Rough Rock demonstration school, this person, Mr. Dick, came to my office in Washington, and I think he visted Senator Kennedy's office. Although he does not have a formal education he is a wise man. He is a dedicated individual desirous of helping children. I will just give one illustration as to why I say he is a wise man, an intellectual man in observing what is best for the future of these children.

When we talked to him about one of the programs he came back and said a program is just as good as the followup. He said we want to know that our program can last for 5 years or more.

These dedicated people can do a great deal. As we have said continuously, we must have the cooperation of all the Government agencies, the cooperation of the school authorities, the State officials, all working together with the parents for one purpose. And, that is to train our children, to educate our children so that they can go forward and be leaders of tomorrow. We want them to be doctors, lawyers, engineers, and I would say that this morning I had several of the Indian youngsters at the boarding school say that they wanted to be engineers, and some of the girls said they wanted to be nurses. I was a little disappointed that more of them did not want to be teachers, but the wisdom of all history has shown that a people divided cannot be strong and division breeds distrust for child and adult alike, so we cannot stand aside and not bring everyone working together on this problem.

On the Navajo Reservation in our travels we saw two schools—side-by-side—both with dedicated teachers and concerned administrators. One of these schools was trying all sorts of new ideas, applying imagination and creativity to the solution of its problems. The other seemed to be just like many others on the reservation, the same routines, the same solutions, no real spark of imagination to kindle a fire of creative dedication in the hearts of every staff member. Understaffed and underfinanced, and perhaps too large to do a really first-rate job. I am sure that you do not want that to continue.

A key factor is that even though these schools are only a few hundred yards apart, they hardly ever speak to each other in any organized or meaningful way about their common problems and interests. Teachers in one school knew very little about what was going on in the other. This is indeed unfortunate, for both have dedicated people who could profit by such an exchange.

When we visited the Papago Reservation I watched with excitement and pleasure the progress made by the Papago in the past 10 years or so in education and in the development of community and tribal leadership.

I saw the evidence of that in a young lady who is with us here today, and I invited her here, Mr. Chairman, Marian Antone, to tell you and all the people here what is really needed in our program of education for Indian children.

The Theodore Roosevelt Boarding School at Fort Apache has struggled valiantly since the 1920's to provide a decent education and a home for Indian children from several tribes. But, there we witnessed a school that has never had adequate funds or adequate staffing. These are the things that we want to help correct. We may only be able to make recommendations, but I am sure as the chairman has indicated that they will be strong recommendations.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. May I add, if things change maybe we can even put those recommendations into effect.

Senator **Fannin**. If realistic necessity dictates that we must have boarding schools for these children, then they deserve the best, the best talent and professional expertise, the best facilities and as close to a warm homelike environment as we can get for them. Let us move now to utilize the many possibilities and opportunities this site offers and show the Nation what can and must be done.

I wish to express my thanks to some of you here in this room and I can look around and see quite a number of you that have been so helpful in this work.

Now, we know that you are going to speak from your hearts and that you are going to open your minds to the problems that we face, all of us together. We certainly will do everything we can to carry through with your recommendations and the recommendation of others as to what can be done in this regard.

Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. The first witness is Mr. Peter McDonald, Director of the Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity, Window Rock, Ariz.

Proceed, Mr. McDonald.

## STATEMENT OF PETER McDONALD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF NAVAJO ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, FORT DEFIANCE, ARIZ.

Mr. **McDonald**. Senator Kennedy, Senator Fannin, first I would like to preface my remarks to the subcommittee with thanks for their interest in American Indian education. The statement I have here is from the Navajo Tribe, and it relates to the needs and desires of the Navajo people for the education of their young people.

First I would like to comment about the Navajo Education Committee of whom Mr. Allen A. Yazzi is the chairman, and he was scheduled to be here this morning but was unable to make it.

The Navajo Education Committee appreciates the importance of the task of educating all of these young Indian people, the Navajo young people, and since 1966 the Bureau and the Education Committee have been working to improve the education of the Navajo people. The goals have been to attack the unique problems of the Indian students by the provision of unique programs suited to the needs of these students as with the English as a second language program. There has been an effort to seek maximum involvement of the parents and tribal leaders in the education program to develop and to endeavor in every way possible to have the full utilization of the resources including the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Public Law 89-10 and other similar programs which benefit the Indian people.

The committee in the past 2 years has sought and seen involvement of parents and tribal leaders reach a new height, and the committee had set aside several days during the year for honoring parents and tribal leaders.

I would like to then go to some of the recommendations. I have a prepared statement.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. That's fine, the whole statement will go into the record.

(The prepared statement of Mr. McDonald follows:)

## Prepared Statement of Peter MacDonald, Executive Director, Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity, Fort Defiance, Ariz.

Members of the U.S. Senate Subcommitee on Indian Education: I am thankful that I was given this opportunity to testify to the Committee regarding the Bureau of Indian Affairs Education on Indian reservations.

My name is Peter MacDonald, Executive Director of the Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity, Fort Defiance, Arizona. I am a full Blood Navajo Indian, born and reared on the Navajo Reservation. I received my elementary education in the Bureau of Indian Affairs school system. I attended the beginner grade, 1st grade and 2nd grade at the Teecnospos Day School, Teecnospos, Arizona, on a day basis. I attended the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th grades at the Shiprock Boarding School, Shiprock, New Mexico.

There are several points on which I should like to make comments regarding the educational system of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and they are as follows:

1. *Boarding schools.*—It has been the philosophy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to bring Indian students from their homes to some central location and keep the students for nine months on a boarding basis. The justification for this is generally rationalized to be necessary because there are no roads to buss the children, on a daily basis, and secondly, it is an economic necessity for it helps the family by having the child fed and cared for at a boarding school. I am sure that the aforementioned justification is true, but my own personal opinion is that, through imaginative and creative administration, the lack of roads can be overcome and, if indeed, the majority of the families need welfare assistance to care for and feed their children, it should not be done through the Education Program but through a properly administered social program for the price that the children must pay to attend boarding schools at an early age far exceeds the justification.

The child at the boarding school is completely deprived of parental supervision and, as a consequence, his future is effected to the extent that his understanding of humanity, the real purpose of life, etc., is either deprived, diminished or distorted and, as a result, the child becomes merely a Charley McCarthy or a dummy which mimics the white man's ways. This kind of education has produced, within the last twenty years, a reservoir of young men and women who are having a difficult time finding the right handle on what life is all about. Yes, there are a few, because of various circumstances, who have made it through to the other side and are making adequate progress and are self-dependent. I oppose Boarding Schools for children under the age of 15 years. Efforts can be made to make the dormitory living suitable, but we cannot substitute parental supervision no matter what we do.

2. *Education objectives and goals.*—The educational goals and objectives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs need to be defined in terms of what are they trying to accomplish. I say this because, for the last 100 years, it seems that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has taken the education of the Indian children as their secondary effort to their purpose and function on the Indian reservations.

Often times, if one can review the activities of the Bureau, in the past, it seems that there is more concern for the land and the manipulation of trusteeship than the education of the American Indians with the idea that, through education (proper educational goals) Indians can become self-sufficient by creating an economic activity through the creation of new wealth on the Indian reservation with imaginatory and creativity rather than to depend upon distribution of the existing meager resources and wealth of the Indian reservations. If the philosophy is to educate American Indians so that they can generate new wealth through creativity and imaginativity, the kind of education on the part of educators should be restructured, restructured so that it can do exactly just that. I say this because, just merely processing Indian children through high school and college without special attention to their deficiencies and needs will not accomplish this goal until after another 100 years. To accomplish this within the next 15 or 20 years, a massive educational program structured to produce massive results is necessary.

We can take a lesson from our own American society. America is independent and self-sufficient because she has excess of leadership. It is only because we do have excess leadership that democracy works for America. If the American Indians are to have democracy on the reservations, they must also have an excess of leadership (at the present time, there are economic dictatorship and no evidence of free enterprise; therefore, the only resemblance of democracy is the fact that every four years, the Indians are required to vote for a representative to the Tribal Council). What I believe to be an excess of leadership is that there must be an excess of leadership at every level of expertise. We must have an excess amount of doctors, lawyers, educators, bankers, economists, technicians, and various sub-professionals. If the Indians have a sufficient number of leaders in the aforementioned categories, they can establish their own communities, create their own water systems, develop their own economy through their own development of their own resources and industrialization for commercial enterprise.

Today, we do have some college graduates with degrees in various fields but leadership is still lacking because not everyone who receives a college degree will become the kind of leader who will create new wealth through new ideas and imagination. Many of us will receive our degrees and resign to teaching second grade for the rest of our lives or reach our professional limitation and plateau at some level and only one or two percent of us will be those who will have the extra quality to lead the rest of us to a new level. Today, because there are about only 75 to 100 Indians graduating from college, we can only look to perhaps one out of this 100 to be the kind of a leader that will lead the remainder and if we are to remain with the present system, we will wait many, many years before we can achieve what we want to achieve, with the American Indians, regarding self-sufficiency. This means that we must shoot for better percentage of leadership material and the only way we can do this is through a very comprehensive educational program for the Indians.

3. *Should the Bureau of Indian Affairs continue to operate schools on the Indian reservations?*—As I have said earlier, it appears that the Bureau of Indian Affairs more-or-less, operated Indian education as a secondary function. Therefore, perhaps, the quality of education has never really caught up to what it should be on the basis of the difficulty and the challenge of educating a deprived group of people with different social and cultural values, as well as, an undeveloped land base.

I believe the educational program for American Indians deserves the greatest of minds that can be enlisted as well as the involvement and participation of the people being served. In this respect, I do not believe that the Bureau of Indian Affairs can do an effective job if it is also concerned with land management, welfare, and economic development on the Navajo Indian reservations. I feel that the education of the Indians on a broad and long-range basis requires a full-time effort so that progress and results can be measured against the goals and objectives.

Perhaps, a separate Department of Indian Education is the answer to a concerted effort on Indian education just as there is a Division of Indian Health in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. We must keep always in mind that the Indians do not want termination unless they feel that they are ready for termination. Therefore, any consideration to abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs must be approached with prior discussions with Indian people themselves.

My statement regarding taking the education out of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' hands does not mean termination, but rather leave land management, welfare, economic development, etc. out of education. Education of Indian children should be left to the Indian people and Educators. I am available to further elaborate on any of the above statement.

Mr. McDONALD. So, I will not bother to read the statement but rather to give you a few highlights of some of the needs as expressed by the Navajo people.

The concern of this Senate committee, as I understand, that it is necessary for students, young and old, to attend boarding school or rather not to attend boarding school is shared by the Navajo Reservation Education Committee. The attempt and the effort on the part of the Education Committee of the Navajo Tribe is to have as many day schools for its young children as possible.

Also, I would like to say here that so far as the Navajo Tribe is concerned, I am as you said the executive director of the Navajo Economic Opportunity. We have had the Headstart program for the 4- and 5-year-olds, all of whom are on a day basis, and there is involvement of parents and it appears that this is the kind of education that is most needed on the reservation. Although the Bureau, the public schools, and mission schools have made progress in the area of Indian education, Navajo education, I believe that the quality and the quantity of education has not kept pace with the need of the Navajo young people. What I mean here is that there is a need for total education of the young people. It is not good enough just to learn to read, to write, and to speak English. This is not the end of education so far as the Navajo parents are concerned. They want total education where the child has an experience of learning what life is, how to cope with life as it is today, and much of this education must and should come from the parents. Therefore, I believe that the kind of education that the Navajo people would like to have for their children, as I said, is total education beyond learning to read, to write, and speak English. And then the quality of education must be such that there is a progression in the area of professions that are needed on the reservation.

The Navajo Reservation, as you know, is the largest reservation, about the size of the State of West Virginia, and if the Indian people—in this case Navajo people—if they are to become self-sufficient and self-determining then we must have the professionals and the technicians who go along in making a community and making this State and making the Nation. If we do not have this, we do not have lawyers, if we do not have engineers, the doctors, and the civil engineers, the city administrators, to make the Navajo Nation an economy which the Navajo people can depend on, then we cannot hope to see this in the near future. What I am saying is that in order for us to be self-sufficient then we must have trained people. And, with as large a geographic area as the Navajo Reservation, we do not even have a junior college, a university, or even a technical school to foster this, and many times the development of the reservation is hampered because the school facilities, the educational facilities, are not the kind of facilities that industry would like to come to on the reservation.

That is all I have right now unless you have some questions to ask.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Senator Fannin.

Senator Fannin. Mr. McDonald, I understand that you have done some planning as far as roads are concerned whereby you could have community centers with the school as its central item of endeavor. That you would have roads across the reservation to promote the overall programs, but it would also give you an opportunity to have schools in various areas of the reservation. Do you have any explanation of your program that is planned?

Mr. McDonald. Yes, there are plans now to put in schools so that more of the young people can be served on a day basis, and I think this is one of the moves in the right direction, because we, as I said, the Navajo people would prefer if it is possible to have the young people go to school from home, and right now one of the biggest arguments is that they cannot because there are no roads, and no roads because there isn't any money. So, you might say we want money to build roads and to build better schools and better facilities. But, this is not the total answer. I think the quality of the education goes right along with this.

Senator Fannin. I certainly agree. We are working toward that, as we have both stated, but at the same time we do want to go forward with the program so the youngsters, if possible, can live at home and receive an excellent education at a community center school where that there might be just a general store, a service station or whatever might be needed, and could be utilized beneficially. But also from the standpoint of industry, you are not going to be able to promote industries unless you have people available to work in those industries, so it is a very important factor in your overall planning.

So that is why, Mr. Chairman, I hope that they can furnish us an explanation of what they are working to do.

Mr. McDonald. Yes, I think we can furnish you this information. It is not in the testimony right now.

Senator Fannin. I understand.

Mr. McDonald. But, it is a necessary thing, as you said, and the tribe is very much interested in this program. I would like to say that the education program is very necessary. It is the thing which the tribe looks to for a solution of its many social and economic problems.

Senator Fannin. Well, I have talked to the Bureau of Public Roads people and also the BIA representatives with the hope that we could go forward with this program not only on the Navajo Reservation but on other reservations because I feel that this is the key factor in our education program, that this will permit our youngsters to be educated and the parents to take a part in the education program.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I offered some legislation a year ago to give tax incentives and tax credits to industry to locate on Indian reservations and thus employ Indians who are presently unemployed. Do you think that kind of effort would be productive?

Mr. McDonald. Very much so. I have in this testimony here, which I would like to read, remarks pertaining to taxes on the reservation and tax incentives for industry.

The State and the Bureau of Indian Affairs school systems have for some time been emphasizing shifting the schools responsibility and financing to the State, and as the State and the county take over part of this responsibility when the Public Law 815 and the 874 and Johnson-O'Malley money does not meet the total required program for that particular school then the county and the State puts in the money. Where do they get their money? They get their money from the taxpayers who are on the reservation.

Let's take the Apache County on the Navajo. In the Apache County there are only two taxpayers on the Navajo Reservation. One is the El Paso Natural Gas and the other one is a small trader post, the Carrigan Trading Post, and it is these two taxpayers who are assessed probably four or five times the normal school tax assessment outside the reservation. So, they are carrying a very heavy burden and because of this we cannot say to industry that you have a tax leeway, a protection——

Senator Kennedy of New York. That is why we gave some special tax incentive and tax credit to locate on the reservation and in turn there would be greater incentive to build the roads and beyond that we would perhaps have these community centers with the schools which might be advisable.

Mr. McDonald. Yes; I think it would be a great help.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Could I ask you another question? How many Navajos graduate from college, university, each year?

Mr. McDonald. I would say about 30.

Senator Kennedy of New York. And how many children are there, I mean altogether?

Mr. McDonald. About 40,000 school age children.

Senator Kennedy of New York. But you have about 30 that graduate each year that are Navajos?

Mr. McDonald. Yes.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How many of the 30 go on to postgraduate studies to be doctors, lawyers, or engineers? Do you have any figures on that?

Mr. McDonald. Probably about 1 percent or something like that, very small. For one thing, the scholarship program isn't available for the graduate students——

Senator Kennedy of New York. You mean just three or four a year go on to——

Mr. McDonald. Yes, go on; but maybe every other year maybe one or two do get advanced degrees.

Senator Kennedy of New York. And then out of the 40 in the college, how many of them stay on the reservation? Do most of them leave the reservation and go on to the cities?

Mr. McDonald. No; I would say about 50–50, 50 percent come back.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Some of them stay?

Mr. McDonald. Yes.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Now, there are approximately 130 different education programs in the Federal Government. I have a list of some of them and perhaps some are applicable to the Indians. Do you think the people have difficulty sorting out which educational programs are available for them and which ones they should apply for?

Mr. McDonald. Yes. I think that is one problem but I think that isn't all the problem. A lot of times with all the assistance that is in the Federal program that has been made available to the individual often times the individual is not prepared so therefore there is a high dropout rate. This is probably the fault of the preparation of the individual.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How many of your Navajos start in college? Do you have any figures on that?

Mr. McDonald. Yes. Each year at least between 350 to 400 start.

Senator Kennedy. And you have only 40 that finish?

Mr. McDonald. Around 30 or 40 finish.

Senator Kennedy of New York. That is a very, very high dropout rate; isn't it?

Mr. McDonald. It is. Oftentimes I tend to believe that there are many factors that lead to this. One of the factors I know is probably the identity. Everyone talks about identity, but I believe that if a person started a good root in his own culture and formed a philosophy and aspirations then he can achieve. One of the things that I know is that there is a false start all the time in many of these young people. You want to get a certain place but then you don't have the necessary foundation or preparation to get there, so it becomes a frustration. And, second, is the value of seeing some other Indians of high position, capacity; then you want to aspire to that level. If you don't see this, then there is no incentive or aspiration toward that goal.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you, Mr. McDonald.

Senator **Fannin**. I was just going to ask how much improvement has there been in the past 10 years as far as the percentage of high school students on the Navajo Reservation that are going on to college? Has it changed very much?

Mr. **McDonald**. Yes; I think the last 10 years probably the increase has been almost double. One of the reasons is because we have more young kids, and second, there is more desire to get a higher education.

Senator **Fannin**. One of the complaints that we had from some of the Papago youngsters was that the scholarships did not provide sufficient funds for them. For instance, they would only be able to pay for their tuition and for the room and board, but the incidental expenses were not covered and they could not get by, especially the girls. Many of them do find employment, but it is very difficult, and a large percentage of the men perhaps find employment, although this is one of the serious problems they explained to us.

Is that the same problem on your reservation?

Mr. **McDonald**. Yes. The Navaho tribal scholarship program emphasizes the issuing of scholarships to the undergraduate, so when you get to a postgraduate situation then you have to find your own scholarship and oftentimes these scholarships are not in the amount that you want to have. First of all, those who want to go into graduate work are often married and have children, therefore, $4,000 a year scholarship in a graduate school is oftentimes discouraging and not a very good incentive for those who want to go on. I would like to see a scholarship program to develop leadership on the graduate level, to develop professionals and managers and administrators who can then provide the necessary movement so that the young people can move along.

Senator **Fannin**. Well, that is a commendable goal and I know and that is why I was asking the question. And, it is a serious problem because of the low income that is prevalent on the reservation—with the families—so they cannot supplement the needs of the children as most of the other families of the non-Indians can. So, it is a serious problem and I did want your thoughts on that.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you very much, Mr. McDonald.

Mr. **McDonald**. Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Could we have Annie Wauneke come forward? Could you just make a short statement as one of the most respected members of the Navaho Tribe, and one of our most respected citizens in the United States, could you just make a short statement about the problems of the Indian education? You were not scheduled as a witness and perhaps it comes somewhat as a surprise, but if you could just make a statement.

Senator **Fannin**. She is accustomed to surprises.

## STATEMENT OF MRS. ANNIE WAUNEKA, REPRESENTATIVE, NAVAHO TRIBE, KLAGETOH, ARIZ.

Mrs. **Wauneka**. Thank you very much, Senator Kennedy and Senator Fannin. Yes, I am not authorized to sit here and make some kind of a statement, but I think us Indians that are sitting here, we have a great interest in so-called education. So, I don't see why I have to speak so many minutes, since I am a problem of the U.S. Government, I think I need to be looked at in the eyes and see how fast I could become one of the citizens and where I will be appreciated and know that I am among the fellow Americans.

I would say that what I would recommend would be that in order to make a change as Senator Kennedy had stated in last night's banquet and also he has said that there ought to be a change, I know that will not take place overnight because these boarding schools that our Navaho children are attending, which some of them I think need to be looked into very carefully because some of them are very useful, then some of them of course need to be liquidated to a certain extent. I would recommend that an independent, what would you call it, board or commission, look into all this Indian education to give you a good, clear, fair survey to our problems, and I think that should be done, an independent group or whether it is from your office, and some educators, that are really sincere and sympathetic with the Indian education, because there really needs to be some kind of a change.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What do you think is the biggest problem of Indian education?

Mrs. WAUNEKA. The biggest problem is that we haven't had much success in this Indian education. This is our 100th year.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. We all agree it is a failure. What is the reason for this?

Mrs. WAUNEKA. Well, there is the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I felt we dealt with that last night.

Mrs. WAUNEKA. The reason why I say the Bureau of Indian Affairs is some of us look at this thing of all the years that has gone by ever since the treaty was made with the Navaho Tribe and the Navaho people agreed that every third child will have a teacher, that was made by the Government and the Navaho people, and that hasn't been met for so long, and of course I don't think it has been met to the extent where it is preached, and this has been done by force.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What do you mean by that?

Mrs. WAUNEKA. The reason why I say by force is a superintendent was placed for the Indians that the Indian be educated. Of course that force is 100 years old now and we would like to get to the point where the Indians, I am talking about the Indians which include the Navajos, that it is about time that we get ourselves involved and plan some of this education, plan what is needed for our Navajo children to better themselves. I think we need to get ourselves involved. If we are going to have a successful community, I think a school should be within the community and the community could be developed around this particular area. The reason why I am saying this is I have a heartache today. At Clattico, that is where I am from, there was an old Bureau community school there for years and years. My people voted not to abandon it. We did everything we can not to abandon the school because that is where the morale of the parents were, but it is abandoned. And of course there is no water, but Klagetoh means water in the ground, and there is a good example. There is a community left with no school and the kids were sent away 50 miles to Toya and to Greasewood and somewhere else which are miles away, and the parents don't see their children like they are supposed to, and there is where the family relation, there is a big gap.

So, I think the community should have a school within the area where they can develop around it, so the Indians would know that there is an education they can depend on, they know that there is an education that their children are at, they know where their children are. At the moment the Bureau schools only go up to a certain grade, let's say the fifth grade, which I think is a shame. I think that these schools that are located, are presently in existence and those that are to be built should at least go up to the eighth grade where the youngsters are still close to the home where they reach the eighth grade and at least they have grown into where they know what is going on in the outside world. These are some of our concerns, very much.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How would you summarize the way the white man has treated the Indian and the education of his children?

Mrs. WAUNEKA. I don't know.

Senator FANNIN. You could tell us in the Indian language, could you not?

Mrs. WAUNEKA. Well, I don't think we are after that, how we were treated in the past. I believe we should let it be the past. Of course there is some treatment, yes, but I think we should be looking forward to some of the good things that needs to come. Another thing that I am very much concerned about is the civil service regulation, talking about treatment. So, I am going to answer your question the best I know how.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I thought you might get around to it.

Mr. WAUNEKA. I would recommend very strongly that some of this civil service regulation be looked into, maybe there are to be some changes in it, for this reason. We have so-called civil service employees which of course are the Bureau of Indian Affairs, maybe there are other kinds of civil service employees but I am talking about Bureau of Indian Affairs now. I want to give you a good example. Over at Steamboat, which is on the Navajo Reservation, they had a problem with the Bureau school, and there was certain personnel, the top official, the top echelon which means the superintendent, the principal, and so forth, the community didn't like these individuals. They were unfair to the children, they were unfair to the employees, they were unfair to the community in certain ways, so they recommended that they have a big gathering which we usually do. We call these chapter houses. We have a chapter meeting, and we call this grassroot organization, and so if they don't feel like that they should have a certain person there running that school or trying to teach the children some kind of education, if they have a certain discrimination or don't have some kind of a—well, these are Indian kids, we can march them around any time we want to, but that shouldn't be the feeling.

So, they voted there at the chapter meeting, 171 to 0, none unopposed, asking that the responsible people at Window Rock, which is the area office, Mr. Graham Holmes and his staff, to transfer these individuals out and replace them with somebody else who they can work with. We were unsuccessful. They said civil service regulations says we can't move these people unless you have facts to show us what is wrong with these people. Well, we are beaten just like on the television, the Indians are always beaten. So, I would say that you——

Senator KENNEDY of New York. As I said before, I have been made an honorary Indian and now I am rooting for your side.

Mrs. WAUNEKA. I believe that should be looked into very carefully. If we are to educate our young Indians and to go into a society such as yours, of all races, I think we are thinking about civil rights. If we need to remove this person, upon the wishes of the Indians, I think they should be removed and replaced with a better person. This we can't do. So, I bring this up to your attention.

And another thing that we see is, I don't know but I will make the statement also, I for myself, I see these things on—why are these schools running on what I would say, maybe this isn't the right word to say but I will say it, on a competitive way of thinking. I wish you would go to Chinle. They have a nice installation of a Bureau school and then on the other side, just across the street, a State public school comes in with all kinds of schools going up, and they have gone up to the high school which is wonderful, we appreciate this. But, on this side the Bureau decides to put in an installation, beautiful building, but they don't go as high as high school so there is two groups that seems to be competing against each other, looking at each other across the street. Why, he is constructing some more, why should I live in this old building, I will construct some more. Now, I think that needs to be resolved and all those schools and little communities, some are closed, not only my school that is closed, some are closed, and instead of trying to pay attention to these modern communities where they have a morale, and where they are involved themselves in education for the Indian children and instead these two schools are competing against each other. But, as far as the standard of education, I wouldn't say what each side is contending with, so that is what your committee has to look into. And, I think this will be about the last statement I will make.

Another thing that I think is in the wrong direction, as far as construction of schools are the Navajo Tribal Council has never been asked where will they have the school built, never. They just build them anywhere they wish. I think it is about time that the Navajo Tribal Council with its people decide now this is where we want it. We haven't done that, for this reason. I am complaining. They build these big institutions, like at Toyei. I wish you folks would go out there, this big institution at Toyei, Ariz., which I understand will bring about a thousand children. That means taking away little kids from other schools, these little tots that should remain at the other area until they reach eighth grade, yet they say you have got to fill the school. There is lots of empty space, so they round up these kids and fill them up. The demand is there, they think that Congress is going to get after them because they don't fill those spaces. And, so Toyei school isn't filled yet, so they are going to come around and take some more of these little bittie ones to fill that school so they can keep the Congress happy.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. It is not keeping me happy, I will tell you that. It is a disgrace.

Mrs. WAUNEKA. This institution that they are building now to round up kids from all the areas, I think that will be a problem as time goes on because this big institution doesn't serve the purpose, I don't think. How can they care like they should for these smaller kids, even these big ones don't actually care about themselves when they are grown up.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I couldn't agree with you more and I think it is an outrage to have this system.

Mrs. **Wauneka**. So, this building of these institutions, I think that ought to be looked into.

Senator **Fannin**. Annie, as far as keeping the Congress satisfied, and I think Senator Kennedy will bear me out, they would rather have the Indian children going to regular schools, staying at home with their families where it is possible to have the Indian children going to public schools. Of course, if it is necessary that the Federal Government stand the expense that is involved, that is one thing, but as far as when you say what Congress wants, I think if you had the voice of Congress it would be on that basis, and that is why we are out talking to you and talking to others to determine what you think about it so that we can carry back to Congress your thinking and your recommendations.

Now, do you feel that the Rough Rock demonstration school is proving some of your points?

Mrs. **Wauneka**. I would say about a fourth of it.

Senator **Fannin**. But it is a step in the right direction?

Mrs. **Wauneka**. It is a step in the right direction, and by your contract with that particular demonstration school, maybe that is the right thing, I don't know. Maybe that is a short term, because we give out leases to certain commercial people and we try to keep their leases with shorter years, and they say I can't accomplish anything within 10 years, give me more years, so I don't know. Maybe that is the problem with demonstrations. If you give them more years maybe their roots will grow. I know their roots haven't grown yet.

Those are some of the things that I would like to bring out.

Now, the Bureau of Indian Affairs at this moment is trying to involve the Navajo and they are recommending that we should have a school board from a chapter area to represent the certain schools and come and discuss the problems which is a good idea, but we have no authority. I don't mean the total authority; we don't have very much to say. We just sit there and, of course, what changes we are supposed to make, we haven't made them yet because these are strong policies that are set that we really have to look into. I believe that some kind of a board that may work locally within the schools may be helpful, too, if they are given the privilege to do so.

Senator **Fannin**. Well, Annie, along that direction, of course, maybe I shouldn't mention this, but President Johnson in his message to Congress did recommend that the Indian parents and the Indian citizens serve on school boards and that they should provide a way even for the BIA schools, but he didn't spell out what authority they would have and just to have them on the school board, if they did not have authority, would not achieve your objectives.

Mrs. **Wauneka**. It will leave us as puppets.

Senator **Fannin**. That is what I am concerned about. It must be spelled out that you would be in authority and that you would have something to do about the education program of that school on which school boards they are serving.

Mrs. **Wauneka**. And what would Senator Kennedy think about this since he is running for President?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I am with you, Annie. I thought that what Senator Fannin was finally going to get to was the only way to rectify this was to——

Senator FANNIN. I mean we need a change; I might agree with you.

Mrs. WAUNEKA. Thank you very much.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you very much. Mr. Logan Koopee, vice chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council.

Mr. Koopee, you are vice chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council?

Mr. KOOPEE. Right, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. And this gentleman, could you identify this man?

Mr. KOOPEE. The man sitting next to me is Emory Sekaquaptewa, Jr., executive director of the Hopi Tribe.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you.

## STATEMENT OF LOGAN KOOPEE, VICE CHAIRMAN, HOPI TRIBAL COUNCIL; ACCOMPANIED BY EMORY SEKAQUAPTEWA, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, HOPI TRIBE

Mr. KOOPEE. Hon. Senator Kennedy, Hon. Senator Fannin, and ladies and gentlemen, my name is Logan Koopee, vice chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council. I feel honored to have this opportunity to testify before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. I have a written statement here which I will follow.

Indian education has today become the subject of much controversy and speculation among the people in government, in the teaching professions, and not the least, among the Indian people themselves. For the first time in history, the problems of the American Indian in his educational and economic endeavors may come to the special attention of officials of Government at the national level. Agencies of all descriptions, public and private, State and Federal, have come into the picture, offering programs that range in ambition from technical advice to the complete replacement and abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs as the school administrator on Indian reservations. The Indian, convinced that he is being shortchanged, now finds himself in the midst of controversies and the semantics over the matter in politics and the academics, hoping to learn what his problem is and how he can overcome it.

If we have not had any enlightenment from all this concentration on Indian education, we have at least come into closer scrutiny of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in its operation of the Indian schools. Our appraisal of the operation now prompts us to apprise this committee of our desire to help direct the BIA school operation. In his recent message to Congress, the President emphasized a program of self-help and self-determination as the greatest hope for Indian progress. This has been and will continue to be the most fundamental desire of the Hopi people in all educational undertakings. But to do this, an approach with realism is the basic guide, especially where changes require the participation of the Indian and the Indian community.

The Hopi people need no convincing that education is necessary and desirable. Hopi students are scattered throughout the United States as participants in colleges and universities, secondary schools, vocational and technical training schools. They are experiencing every degree of success and failure. For every success, the Hopi people are encouraged by the realization that they have the ability. For every failure, the realization is that some changes are necessary to better prepare the Hopi student to overcome the causes for failure.

I will go down the line with education as No. 1.

(1) A preschool program to give Hopi children a headstart has now become an absolute necessity. In order to best carry out the program, it should be integrated into the regular Hopi school system rather than be operated as an appendage to it by another agency. The administrative problem created by this situation and the uncertainty of continued financing under parasitic agencies makes integration necessary and urgent.

(2) Prompt steps should be taken to establish school boards for all Hopi schools, including provisions for training the Hopi board members to enable them to carry out their responsibilities.

(3) The hiring and paying of teachers should be done by contract and be based on the academic year and upon professional ability as reflected in their training and experience. As much as is administratively feasible, the local Indians should be involved in the hiring and paying of teachers.

(4) Teachers in Indian communities should participate in civic activities to the same extent as they would elsewhere. Any policy which puts undue restrictions on the teacher's role in the community should be abolished, so that the Indian will observe him and associate with him in his capacity as a citizen as well as a professional.

(5) Administrative responsibility and authority should become more localized into tribal groups so that the educational program may be more receptive to the special needs and ability at such local level. No longer should the BIA administer any program that would tend to stereotype the Indian. No longer should the Indian be forced to tolerate a teacher or administrator who demonstrates unwillingness or inability to function as a professional.

(6) There should be a program to permit non-Indian residents and their children to fully participate in all Hopi schools. No policy of segregation based on administrative or financing convenience should prevail over the desire of the Hopi people for an opportunity to carry on a full exchange of life experiences with their non-Indian neighbors.

(7) There should be instituted within the Hopi school system a positive program to constantly improve the efficiency of teachers, administrators, and methods. The organization and funding of this program should take full recognition of opportunities for professional advancement through a cooperative program with colleges and universities. Important and necessary is a program to train Hopi people for semiprofessional functions in classrooms.

(8) The administrative problems and the consequent disharmony created by the split of authority resulting from the amalgamation of the BIA and public school at the Hopi Agency demonstrate a need for a program under one general administration. This requires of the Government a school system which will not imply any form of, or reason for, segregation, and at the same time meet equally the needs of both the Hopi and non-Indian child.

The appropriation of funds to carry out programs consistent with the desires of the Hopi people as stated must be based on the notion that (*a*) the educational needs of the Hopi people are no less than the needs of any other group or community of Americans everywhere and that such needs are changed by the same elements as affects other people's needs.

(*b*) Congress has both the moral and legal duty to provide for a first-class educational program for the Hopi people.

(*c*) Any action which falls short of meeting the needs and which diminishes the responsibility of the Federal Government toward Hopi education is repugnant to the essence inherent in self-help and self-determination.

The Hopi people know that some special problems in education are presented because of the language barrier. They know that the remoteness of the Hopi Reservation presents a problem of obtaining and retaining quality teachers. But these must be taken as a special challenge to the teacher and as a special duty to provide for by Congress. There is no question here but that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is the proper and logical agency to carry out the Hopi ambition of educational improvement.

The end to which we aspire is no longer just the training of doctors, lawyers, engineers, and teachers, but the end now must be nothing less than the training of citizens in two cultures, affluent in both and worthy contributors to each.

Now, we realize that the Indian education is a big problem which requires everybody's support and cooperation, and we respectfully ask the U.S. Congress for this help. We want our children to have the kind and same quality of education like the other children of the country enjoy. If the U.S. Congress is really interested in the education of the Indian people, then he has plenty of time and money to educate our children.

Thank you.

Senator FANNIN. Thank you, Vice Chairman Koopee for a very comprehensive aind informative statement. You and others of your tribe explained to us that the Hopis have been very successful in getting the youngsters to go on into high school and into college, much more successful than most any other tribes. I understand that last year every Hopi child that was going to grammar school in your schools went on to high school; is that right?

Mr. KOOPEE. That's right. We have all graduates from our local schools.

Senator FANNIN. And more than 100 Hopis are presently in higher education?

Mr. KOOPEE. Right.

Senator FANNIN. You also said that another 80 or 90 are in post-high education.

Mr. KOOPEE. Right.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Can you give us an idea as to why you have been so successful and others have not?

Mr. KOOPEE. Well, you may or we may recall that we have been called or sometimes known as opposing progress. This is not true. And, we have tried our very best to get away from that, and very strongly go after educational programs for our children. We have encouraged our children to go to school, we have encouraged them to take Hopi in the schools and we have encouraged them to talk Hopi when they go home in the evening.

Senator **Fannin**. They have had the advantage of going to school and you are concerned even though you do not have the problems with the boarding schools and with the children being away from homes for long lengths of time.

Mr. **Koopee**. Maybe the executive director will give you that answer.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How many children do you have away at boarding schools? Do you have any really small children?

Mr. **Koopee**. No; we have children away from the reservation after they reach the age of 14.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I can see that that might very well make some sense and might be very valuable. Education is more than just reading a book and by sending the child away at the age of 5 or 6 years of age——

Mr. **Koopee**. We hold our children home until about that age and then we allow them to go off the reservation.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I don't see how the child is possibly going to survive being taken away from its home and being put into a different environment, and I don't see how we can expect that the child is going to be able to survive mentally or any other way under the present system.

Mr. **Koopee**. We have more of our people becoming interested in higher education. I think that information was given——

Senator **Fannin**. Yes; we have full information that was furnished to the committee and we were very impressed with that information.

Also, I was impressed with the determination and cause with which your people have maintained their heritage, their customs and their traditions. This is very important to all the Indian tribes I have visited. They certainly are determined to retain these traditions. The Hopis, I just remember one that I wrote down because it was so impressive: that Hopis believe that their tribe will never fail but will stand as long as the corn rocks do. I think this says something to the non-Indians about the strength and resolution of the Indian people and how little we outside the reservation know of the Indian people.

Do you feel that the teachers even on the Hopi Reservation bring this out to as great an extent as they should?

Mr. **Koopee**. Can you answer that?

Senator **Fannin**. Do you feel that they bring out the history and traditions of your people?

Mr. **Sekaquaptewa**. Senator Fannin, generally I would say, "Yes." I don't want to mislead you because we do have problems in isolated areas and again there is no doubt but that all Hopis are proud of the Hopi children's interest in education and also the parents interest in education. But——

Senator **Fannin**. I am wondering about the teachers who come in to teach these children, do they recognize the importance of this fact?

Mr. **Sekaquaptewa**. Yes; the teachers do recognize the unique situation of the Hopis and the Hopi community and their cultural programs, and in many cases try to integrate that, or, that is, gear the classroom situation to the local cultural program.

Senator FANNIN. Do you feel this is followed throughout the BIA schools?

Mr. SEKAQUAPTEWA. I cannot say for all BIA schools but we are interested in trying to emphasize it on the Hopi Reservation. Again I say this is not a successful program now from our point of view.

Senator FANNIN. Thank you very much.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I understand the Hopis have the oldest community in the country. Is that right?

Mr. SEKAQUAPTEWA. The town of old Oraibi dates back to A.D. 1100 and perhaps further back if we were to make additional research in archeology and technology.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you very much.

Mr. Ronnie Lupe, chairman of the White Mountain Apache Tribe. Mr. Lupe, I welcome you to testify before the subcommittee. I am sorry I missed my scheduled visit to your area and I hope that sometime after my present struggles are finished I will be able to come back.

I welcome you here before the subcommittee.

Mr. LUPE. Senator Kennedy, Senator Fannin, I have a prepared statement which involves a great deal of the Indian people throughout the United States, prepared by the education committee of the White Mountain Apache Tribe on the Apache Indian Reservation.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you like to read that statement or would you like to summarize it?

Mr. LUPE. I think I had better read it because there are some points here that were brought out in more different versions than previous——

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Please proceed as you wish.

## STATEMENT OF RONNIE LUPE, CHAIRMAN, WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE TRIBE, WHITERIVER, ARIZ.

Mr. LUPE. Gentlemen, this is truly an age of contrast. We are confronted and awed daily by the amazing things which are happening to this great Nation of ours, things so technical and so complex that we cannot comprehend or understand. We are further confused when we take a hard look at our own backyard and the people living there. We have to face the fact that an important segment of our population, we, the Indian people, are so poorly equipped to cope with the problems of this day and age.

Before I proceed with my comments on Indian education, I want to make it very clear that we are not shortsighted enough to embrace the "throw the rascals out" theory, and think that this will solve anything. Fighting and bickering between the Bureau of Indian Affairs, tribes, and public school people, or anyone else who now shares a part of the responsibility for our children's education, will only further complicate the existing problems and our Indian children will suffer in the long run.

Education is a beautiful word and a part of our language, whether we speak, English, Apache, or Pima. Indian education is a phrase which has a good sound. It is sometimes touted as a cure-all for problems, large and small, but we must keep it in the proper perspective because it means a thousand different things to as many different people.

To the professional educators, it means a career and a job to be done. To the parent and the layman and the general public, it means a system and a method of providing our children with the training and equipment they need to live out their lives in a productive manner. To the dedicated classroom teacher and instructor, it means an opportunity to do something of lasting value as they guide and mold and inspire the young people each day. To the Indian people, and I say this in all sincerity, it might very well mean survival or oblivion. We have had Indian education in many forms and many combinations for a long, long time now. A hundred years or more. Yet, somehow, somewhere down the line, we either failed to do the total job or we took some wrong turns and wound up spinning our wheels.

None of these statements are made to be critical or to cry over spilled milk. They are made to point up and emphasize the fact that if Indians are not only to survive, but also keep up with this fast-moving age, more and better things must be done in the field of Indian education and done quickly.

I know my own people, 5,300 White Mountain Apaches who live on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation, and the harsh conditions they have lived under for many years. I know that the unemployment rate still stands at almost 50 percent. We are all aware of the health conditions and the infant mortality rate, and the despair people face when there is no food, or no heat in the wickiup, and no hope for a job tomorrow, so that a wage can be earned and the necessities of life purchased.

My tribe has made some wonderful advancements and much progress in the development of our natural resources during the past few years. Progress we are very proud of, but I relate many of the problems which still exist to lack of educational opportunities or to poor education.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Could I just interrupt you there? Do you have any figures on the infant mortality rate as it compares to the——

Mr. LUPE. The infant mortality rate on my reservation is the highest in the Southwest, I believe, 99.2 per thousand, which would be about 10 percent of our population, 10 percent of the infants born.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. It is 99 out of a——

Mr. LUPE. 99.2 out of a thousand.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. And across the country it is what, I think about 26?

Mr. LUPE. Something like that.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You are 15th in the world so that is astronomically high. The ghettos in the United States go up to about 45 or 50 which is about twice as high as it is for the white people and yours is 99——

Mr. LUPE. 99.2.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. The unemployment is about 50 percent. What is the dropout rate for schools, do you have anything on that?

Mr. **Lupe**. We have 2,374 students, elementary through high school. Out of that the dropout rate is 68, somewhere around there.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. It is what?

Mr. **Lupe**. Sixty-eight, that is both in the public school and the BIA. The public school is taking a big share of the dropout.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. And is there hunger among your people?

Mr. **Lupe**. We have quite a number of our people on welfare programs.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Well, is there actual hunger, malnutrition?

Mr. **Lupe**. Almost to that extent, yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What about the housing conditions?

Mr. **Lupe**. The housing condition is—Senator Fannin was able to observe——

Senator **Fannin**. May I say this? I think it would be very good if you could explain your observations of what happens after a family does move from a very substandard home into one of the new homes that are now being provided which you have been working on for some time.

Mr. **Lupe**. We have a revolving program system on our reservation and also the self-help program. This involves houses, three bedrooms, living room, utility, kitchen, modern. When an Indian family moves out of the oppressed and hopeless wickiup atmosphere and moves into the brand new house, the whole, the entire family changes. Their spirit is raised, education falls in line, their outlook to live, their attitude, the way they live, they have something to hope for, something to live for, when they move into this brand new house, which they have never had the experience of before in the many years.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Are the delapidated substandard housing conditions widespread among your tribe?

Mr. **Lupe**. I wish you had been on my reservation, Senator, I would have shown you firsthand what we mean by a wickiup. It is bear grass, about 16 poles made into a kind of tepee, and that has been home for a lot of people and they still call it home.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How cold does it get on your reservation?

Mr. **Lupe**. There is no windbreak to speak of. The only heat is a little bit of fire right in the middle of the center of the wickiup.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How cold does it get outside?

Mr. **Lupe**. In the wintertime parts of our reservation are about 10 degrees. We live up in a high altitude.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What is the average life expectancy?

Mr. **Lupe**. The average life expectancy is between 40 and 46.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Which is about 30 years less, about 25 years less than the rest of us?

Mr. **Lupe**. Right.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Excuse me for interrupting.

Senator **Fannin**. You might explain that even some of the new homes do not have running water.

Mr. **Lupe**. We would like to develop subdivisions and plan for new housing projects. We could build a hundred houses today if we had water facilities and sanitation. This is the reason why there is infant mortality, a lot of deaths among our people, unsanitary conditions.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Is there bitterness among your people?

Mr. LUPE. There is no bitterness at all. My people, the grassroots people have learned to accept this way of life. They have lived with it so many years, so very long. We are now trying to change a lot of that with education, with housing, making jobs available to our people, and there is a tremendous difference between these people that have a job and have something to give to their family, clothes and food and education.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you. Will you continue please.

Mr. LUPE. Even today, when it is so evident that most of our unemployed people cannot find work because they are unskilled or undereducated, even when we have both Government and public schools in operation on the reservation, many of our high school students are looking toward graduation with only one thought in mind, to get their high school certificate and be done with it.

We all know that today a high school diploma is not enough. That if a person is to compete and to succeed, this diploma is only a stepping stone to higher education. We also know that more scholarships and opportunities for higher education are available than are presently being utilized by Indian students.

This being the case, where then have we failed? Or where has the system failed, in properly preparing and properly training and properly motivating the Indian student during his early years and during his high school years?

It appears to me and the people on my reservation who are concerned about this problem, that a new examination must be made and new emphasis must be placed, not only on Indian education, but also on upgrading the economic standard of living and the rapid development of more job-producing industries on the reservation. In this way, every head of a household can earn sufficient money to provide a decent living standard for his family. When this is accomplished, I do not feel that we will have too much of a problem motivating the Indian children to want to better themselves educationally. With better home conditions and decent income in the home, their self-confidence will make the Indian a better person, and proud that he is an Indian. Until something is done for the benefit of the individual, we are still going to have difficulty motivating the youngster to continue with his education.

What then are some of the specific things which can be done now, and in the future? Some of the things which will give us an immediate headstart while the long-range goals are being refined and the long-range machinery being geared to meet them?

First, we must insist on teachers and administrators of the highest quality in our Bureau schools and the public schools located on the reservations. Mere academic qualifications are not nearly enough. They must have drive and dedication, and a willingness to apply themselves daily to the task of recognizing and meeting the special needs of Indian children.

All too often, it seems, we wind up with some teachers who come to our schools only because they cannot secure more desirable positions elsewhere. Remote locations, poor housing conditions, and limited budgets for salaries all tend to make it more difficult to secure and keep these highly qualified people at the time and in the places they are most needed. We must demand the best and accept nothing less.

Education must be related to the child's own world. The educator must know something about that world and he must become involved in the Indian community life, must learn something about and learn to appreciate the Indian heritage and culture.

Indians, as a rule, are very proud of their heritage and culture. This pride must be developed to give the Indian child self-confidence and confidence in his ability to meet the demands placed upon him during his school years.

We frequently talk of the problems which arise with bilingual children and their difficulty in adopting "second languages." We must realize that English is the second language to most Indian children and it is absolutely essential that they be helped in mastering the use of English in their very early years if they hope to ever gain the full benefits from their educational efforts.

The average Indian parent has not had the opportunity to become well educated, through no fault of his own, yet, it is a fact these parents appreciate the value of education and they want their children to get a good education, yet they are not attuned to the educational environment and find themselves at a loss on how to help and advise their children at the times it is most needed. Because of this handicap, all too often the parent will withdraw and leave the important decisions to the child or depend entirely on the non-Indian teacher to guide the child.

There are so many things which can and must be done now, such as special teacher training centers, special textbooks, smaller student-teacher ratios, special tutoring and counseling programs, increased emphasis on Indian history, heritage, and culture and many, many more.

Some fine new plants have recently been completed on reservations in the area, but more are badly needed and soon. We are still saddled with many outdated and antiquated facilities. We are still using make-do classrooms in community buildings, churches, and other temporary locations. We are still short of badly needed supplies, specialized equipment, and specially trained personnel in some of our boarding schools.

There has been much talk about closing the boarding schools and converting to a public school system on all levels. This may or may not be beneficial as a long-range goal, but we must be realistic and not lose sight of the immediate needs. In my humble opinion, our own Theodore Roosevelt Boarding School is now fulfilling a vital need, serving students who simply cannot be immediately served elsewhere if the school were closed. With our present inadequate road system, the long distance pupils would have to be transported to reach a public school, it is just not practical to consider an immediate conversion to a purely public school system for all Indian children.

We must all realize that we are at the crossroads where we must choose between active cooperation or a gradual erosion of the trust that is ours. The time for remedial measures is now and if we cannot find the right remedies and work together to see that they are implemented, the entire issue may be of small importance 20 years from now.

We are pleased and encouraged that the President and Congress and you, gentlemen on this committee, are at this particular time, taking such an active interest in the timely and pressing problems of Indian education. We are pleased that some of the very things we have been asking for are specifically mentioned as immediate goals. We accept in good faith the recent pledges that have been made to Indians across the land, and we feel that we would be derelict in our duty to our own people if we failed to keep this issue before the public and if we failed to do all in our power to see that these pledges are fulfilled.

Gentlemen, I want you to know that it is a personal pleasure for me to appear before this committee, and I want to thank you for the time you have given me.

Thank you.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. One of the young Indian boys I talked to when I was up at Sherman School was a boy from your area. His father was very sad, filled with despair, unemployed and with many personal difficulties, and his mother had burned herself to death in front of all the rest of the children including this little boy. And, it seems to me what you said here today just indicates once again what our responsibilities are to the small children who have to lead these kind of lives and try to adjust. All of what we say we stand for around the rest of the world and we ignore so much in our backyard and if there is any group of the citizens that deserve attention and deserve help it is the Indians who were actually our first citizens.

Your testimony has been very helpful and very eloquent and I think again a cry to all of our own consciences as American citizens to rectify the situation.

Senator Fannin.

Senator FANNIN. Yes, you did make a very impressive statement and I was very impressed with what you had to say when we were visiting on the reservation and very alarmed when you pointed out the homes where the large number of children were living all crowded into one room. I think you had examples where six, seven, and eight children of a family would all be living in one small room. I don't recall the size of the room but I think you told me some of them were very small.

Mr. LUPE. It is less than 12 by 12.

Senator FANNIN. Less than 12 by 12, and a family of five or six or seven children and the parents?

Mr. LUPE. Seven children.

Senator FANNIN. Yes. One thing that did impress me—you told me and others have told me—while we were visiting on the reservations that the Indian people do not want charity; they want jobs and opportunity. I think you gave an example, maybe you would like to repeat it, about some people that would not even go in for the welfare payments for assistance until they knew they could do some work.

Mr. LUPE. The people that are unemployed are reluctant to be on welfare. They despise the condition they are in. They have always been a proud people and they are ashamed to go to welfare. They need jobs, they need job opportunities so that they can earn money for their children and for themselves.

Senator **Fannin**. How many of your Indian people are employed by the BIA schools or the public schools in your area?

Mr. **Lupe**. Very fortunately in the Southwest area I think we have the second highest Indian employment on the Fort Apache Indian Agency in regard to public schools and Public Health hospital and the BIA agency. I don't know the number.

Senator **Fannin**. Would you have an idea of what percentage of the employees are Indian?

Mr. **Lupe**. If I were to give you a number I would say in the neighborhood of about 100, 100 Apaches in all these three agencies.

Senator **Fannin**. Out of a total of——

Mr. **Lupe**. Out of a total, I just don't know how many jobs there are.

Senator **Fannin**. Several hundred?

Mr. **Lupe**. We have more Indian people on all of these agencies.

Senator **Fannin**. Very good.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you very much.

Mr. Henry Montague, president of Quechan Tribal Council.

## STATEMENT OF HENRY MONTAGUE, SR., PRESIDENT, QUECHAN TRIBAL COUNCIL, FORT YUMA, CALIF.

Mr. **Montague**. First let me introduce myself. I am Henry Montague, Sr., president of the Quechan Tribal Council, which is governed by the Quechan Tribal Council in Imperial County which is located in the southeastern tip of California.

Senator Kennedy and Senator Fannin, it gives me a pleasure to be able to be given the opportunity to speak in behalf of the Quechan Tribe. I think a lot of the problems that exist on our reservation have been well covered by others who have been here this morning and I am rather glad that they were taken care of rather than my having to go through the whole problem.

I have here a short statement that I was directed to submit to the committee by the tribal council at Fort Yuma.

The parents and members of the Quechan Tribal Council at Fort Yuma, Calif., are very displeased with the Indian education program carried out for our Indian students who attend schools in Imperial County, Calif. Some of the evident reasons are given as follows. The administration of this school does not seem to be interested in whether our children receive an education or not. They seem to be more concerned that our children attend school daily so that the school will not lose out on the Federal moneys that are received by the school because our children are federally connected.

Teachers of the school staff are of very low caliber and their attitudes toward our Indian children seem to be that of discrimination. Our children do not receive the help needed from the teacher when they don't understand some of their school work.

No. 3, members of the administrative and teaching staff of the school do not live in the community, therefore, there are no home visits made by the staff members. Because of this, the relationship between the teachers and parents are limited. The only visits made by some of the school officials occur when there is a problem concerning the enrolled student. We feel that since the staff members live in the community of Yuma, Ariz., their interests lie where they live and not where they work. Interest on the part of the staff members would play a major role in the upgrading on our education program.

I might elaborate a little on that. It seems like since they are not living in the community they do not take any active part in any of the civic programs that go on on the reservation itself. They more or less tend to be what they call clock watchers. They watch the clock to see what time to go to work and watch the clock to see what time they should get home. This is their only concern. All of their interest is in where they live and not where they work.

When our children graduate from the public high school and enter into an institution of higher learning, it is noted that they are from 2 to 3 years behind in their grade level. This, of course, creates dejection on the part of the students, because they cannot do the work in school, and in the end the student is a dropout. If our children are to become successful and productive citizens, they still have to be given the same opportunities as the students who are well educated in other schools.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Let me just ask you and interrupt there, what is your dropout rate? Do you have any figures on that?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Those that have attended college, we have a junior college there at Yuma, they attend this school, there is approximately 80 attending, enrolled at the beginning of the year and we are lucky to get maybe half of those people to stay on.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. That is where, at the college?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You don't know what the dropout rate is until they get to the school?

Mr. MONTAGUE. No, I don't.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Could I just interrupt and ask Mr. Lupe, do you know how many boys in your tribe finished college each year?

Mr. LUPE. At the present time we have 26 in college. Out of the 26 in college I believe two will finish this year.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Two of them?

Mr. LUPE. The interest in higher education, let's say, has just begun about 3 years ago.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you have many college graduates on your reservation or in your area?

Mr. LUPE. We have very few.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I am sorry to interrupt.

Are they interested in staying or are they interested in leaving there or can you tell me that?

Mr. LUPE. We have one that came back. She is teaching on the reservation now. One that is interested in going to work for the Southern Arizona Bank in Tucson.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How many people do you have all together?

Mr. LUPE. 5,300.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How many college graduates do you have out of the 5,300?

Mr. LUPE. There must be about six out of the whole 5,300.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How many people do you have all together?

Mr. MONTAGUE. We have 1,586 enrolled tribal members.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How many college graduates?

Mr. MONTAGUE. I would say approximately to date we have only three.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Continue, I am sorry to——

Senator FANNIN. How many are going to Arizona Western College now at Yuma?

Mr. MONTAGUE. This year we started off with eight students, and I believe that we have already had two dropouts.

Senator FANNIN. Who pays the tuition?

Mr. MONTAGUE. This is through your Federal assistance, BIA, but the amount of money received by the student isn't quite enough.

Senator FANNIN. Sir?

Mr. MONTAGUE. It is not enough. The money received through the BIA is not enough to get them through.

Senator FANNIN. In other words, they pay the tuition but they do not assist the students?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Yes.

Senator FANNIN. Do the students live in Yuma or out away——

Mr. MONTAGUE. No, they live on campus.

Senator FANNIN. But the BIA does pay for their boarding and for other——

Mr. MONTAGUE. Right.

Senator FANNIN. But does not pay the incidental expenses that you refer to?

Mr. MONTAGUE. This is absolutely right.

Senator FANNIN. Thank you.

Mr. MONTAGUE. This brings me to the end of the presentation here. The last sentence here is, we are pleading our case in hopes for the betterment of our children's education to this subcommittee hearing.

I might also state that in driving up here I didn't know whether this committee hearing was to be held or not. The reports that I listened to over the car radio and then buying the Phoenix paper I didn't know whether I was headed in the right direction or not. It seems that the statement was made in the paper that the Indians were disappointed. Well, we may have been to a certain degree, but I believe our disappointment would be in coming here and presenting our case to the committee and finding out that nothing is ever done about our presentation and what our problems are. This has always been the case. I feel that I have been sent here by my people to present our case. I have presented it to the committee and I do hope that we get results. This is what we want, end results.

I thank you.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You have represented your tribe very commendably and they should be very proud of you.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Thank you.

Senator FANNIN. I would just like to say this, that we certainly agree with you that any program is just as good as the followup, and if we do not follow up with this program it will be of very little value but, of course, this committee was organized for this very reason and we hope that we will be able to make recommendations that will be sound and acceptable.

Mr. **Montague**. Thank you. I might say that there have been several committees that have been made for several reasons, but we as Indians have always found out that we go to these committees and nothing is ever done.

Let me say one thing. The statement was made that the Bureau of Indian Affairs always wants to have a conference once a year with Indian leaders. Someone said it seems like the Indian leaders have so much animosity against the Bureau of Indian Affairs or against the Federal Government that they call them once a year and let them speak out their animosities and send them home and say that will hold them for another year. Thank you. [Applause.]

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. The white man is having a bad time today. Not completely undeserving, I might add.

Mr. Thomas Segundo, chairman of the Papago Tribe, Sells, Ariz. Would you identify yourself, please?

## STATEMENT OF THOMAS SEGUNDO, CHAIRMAN, PAPAGO TRIBE, SELLS, ARIZ.; ACCOMPANIED BY MANUEL LOPEZ, MEMBER, GU ACHI DISTRICT COUNCIL, SANTA ROSA VILLAGE, ARIZ.; AND MISS MARIAN ANTONE, STUDENT, INDIAN OASIS PUBLIC SCHOOL, SELLS, ARIZ.

Mr. **Segundo**. Senator Kennedy, Senator Fannin, members of the Senate staff, the Papago presentation will be made in three parts. The first part will be taken by Mr. Manuel Lopez who has been a member of the Gu Achi District Council and also the Papago Council for many years. Because of his limited knowledge of the English language his remarks will be interpreted.

The second portion will be made by Miss Marian Antone who is a high school student at the Indian Oasis public school.

Time permitting, Mr. Moore, who is the Director of the Papago Office of Economic Opportunity, will submit a brief statement and comments, including the set of recommendations which may be either stated or submitted for the record.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you very much.

Mr. **Segundo**. I would like at this time to turn the microphone over to Mr. Manuel Lopez of Gu Achi District, Santa Rosa Village.

(Statement of Mr. Lopez, interpreted by Mr. Thomas Segundo, follows:)

## STATEMENT OF MANUEL LOPEZ, MEMBER OF THE GU ACHI DISTRICT COUNCIL, SANTA ROSA VILLAGE, ARIZ.

Mr. **Lopez**. Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, my name is Manuel Lopez. I would like to thank you first for the very special privilege of appearing here before you. I come before you because I know you have authority and that you are a part of our Government and can help. I have consulted with members of my people, I have talked about this educational process with my people. I feel very bad myself because I can't speak English, I cannot address you in English and, therefore, I want to see something done about education for our people.

The younger members of our tribe who have received some education are at this time leading us, helping us with our planning. We have some here with us today who can bear witness with me that we are making some progress, but we have a long way to go. And I feel, therefore, that I must come before you to plead the case of the Papagos for more help in education.

I completely endorse the statement of the Navajos, the Hopis, the Yumas, and the Apaches and all of the others who have stated their educational needs and their particular situations, because we, too, are greatly in need. Our young people are coming along, our younger people are assuming a place of leadership among our people, but yet we come from a very poor area. Our lands are poor, they need development. I, therefore, feel that I should come here and place before you this statement of our needs.

Our poverty-stricken lands have always been blessed with vegetation and wildlife. We utilized the vegetation, the plants, and the wildlife for our survival, even though there was little to find otherwise. But, with the event of the Indian Reorganization Act changes came about. We had always the medicine man and other ceremonial specialists who served our people's needs. We could always consult a ceremonial man, we could always look to the ceremonial specialist to fill the role and serve the needs of the people and their communities. But, with the event of Indian reorganization, the Indian Reorganization Act and therefore self-government for the Papago people we saw also the event of new people.

We now know that there are among all people as there must surely be here today, doctors, lawyers, engineers, livestock men, and people of all specialities and abilities, and we know that we too must develop our paths. We must educate them to meet these modern needs of our Papago people.

We had always assumed what we had on our lands was all we would ever have, the poor lands of ours, the fauna, the flora, but yet with education, with the development of the technical skills, the knowledge which we are beginning to accumulate now, and which we now understand we must acquire for this modern age, we now know that beneath our lands may be riches which are yet undeveloped. So, we are now in the process of developing the know-how to tap other resources which heretofore were even unknown to us.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Could I just interrupt a moment? We are going to be limited to time. We have about four more witnesses and we are only scheduled for 10 or 15 more minutes. I think we just should decide how you would like to proceed.

Mr. SEGUNDO. Yes, I would like to turn the rest of the time over to Miss Marian Antone.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. If there is anything further you would like to add we would like to place it in the record, other than what you have already presented. I am sorry that our time is limited.

Would you present——

Senator FANNIN. Yes, I would just like to commend Mr. Manuel Lopez as being a very fine American, a great leader and I have observed his work and I am very proud of him.

Today we are very privileged to have with us a talented young lady that has worked very hard to achieve success. It is very evident as you will witness when she makes her remarks. She is a Papago Indian student at the high school at Indian Oasis, at Sells, Ariz. She is speaking from her heart and yesterday when we heard her message I felt it important enough a message to place in the Congressional Record.

Marian, we are very pleased to have you with us today. Would you please give us your message now as you did then on the reservation.

## STATEMENT OF MISS MARIAN ANTONE, STUDENT, INDIAN OASIS PUBLIC SCHOOL, SELLS, ARIZ.

Miss ANTONE. Hon. Senator Kennedy, Hon. Senator Fannin, members of the Senate committee, parents and students, my name is Marian Antone, I go to school at Indian Oasis Public School at Sells. I have been asked to come before you today to represent our high school boys and girls from this reservation. I am supposed to be able to tell you what we, the Papago boys and girls of high school age, want for educational opportunities.

Realizing that I cannot possibly speak the minds of all my fellow students I will attempt to tell you how I feel, and I am sure most other Papago boys and girls must feel.

First of all I want to make it extremely clear that we do not like our present position of poverty and ignorance caused by the lack of educational opportunities. We do not want charity. We do want opportunity. We want the opportunity to help ourselves. We want the opportunity for good education and we can help ourselves.

To me education means more than a diploma. Many of our people have had diplomas from high school, many of these same people were not educated.

During the entire history of our Papago people less than 10 people have graduated from college, so I am told by Mr. Ray Narcho.

Gentlemen, does this tell you anything? Some people have said that the Papago people are dumb. Some people have said that the Papago people don't care. I care, I am not dumb and I don't believe that any other boys and girls on this reservation are any more dumb or care any less than children anywhere.

What is this education about which I speak? I cannot define it. I do know that it has something to do with knowledge. We need knowledge. We need knowledge about ourselves, about our country and about how to do things like all other Americans.

Education cannot be bought with money. Education cannot be bought with need. Education cannot be bought with desire. Education cannot be bought with dedication. It can be bought by all of the things I just mentioned.

Money has been too often used as a measurement of educational opportunity. Not far from this spot you can see a new school building being built. As you travel over this reservation you can see many other school buildings. The old saying, "A house doesn't make a home" applies here. Buildings do not make schools.

It is true that we need these buildings but we also need more dedicated teachers who believe in us. We need leaders who seek our opinions. We need leaders who respect us.

We do appreciate what others have tried to do, especially on the national level. But we cannot tell other people what is best for them any more than they can tell us what is best for us.

I am sorry that I cannot tell you just what our schools should be like. I do not have the experience. I do know that all of us want an opportunity to become whatever we desire, limited only by our abilities.

Give us these opportunities and we will give you in return, responsible, productive young American citizens instead of wards of the U.S. Government.

Senator Kennedy of New York. An exceptional statement, Miss Antone, very good.

Mr. Loyde Allison, governor of the Gila River Indian Community.

## STATEMENT OF LOYDE ALLISON, GOVERNOR, GILA RIVER INDIAN COMMUNITY

Mr. Allison. My name is Loyde Allison, I am the governor of the Gila River Indian Community.

Senator Fannin, Senator Kennedy, I am not going to talk very long. I am a boy with a short few words and I have a package here and I will hand it to you after I get through and then you can read it for yourselves because that is too much reading being done this morning.

But anyway, my location is in a very unique position. I am located between Chandler, Casa Grande, Coolidge, Tolleson, Phoenix, Tempe, Mesa, centered right in that area there, and I am something like the Henry Montague Reservation, and I am a little different from the Navajos and Hopis where they travel long distances. But here we have buses running to Casa Grande, to Coolidge and Tolleson. Every morning buses go either direction. But we still have these Bureau schools in our midst, and we are so crowded with our younger very small kids and what I am after is some new plants there. I have pictures in here and you can look at how crowded they are. I have done about everything I could to get some new facilities there. I believe in saying that the younger you teach the kids the better they learn and I think that is what we are heading to do now. I know this Indian education is moving in that direction and these old Government facilities that are there have been there in 1930, the earlier part of the thirties, and they are just about gone and I have done about everything I could.

I had the Commissioner of Indian Affairs twice in there, showed him the crowded conditions in there and one time I even had the Secretary of the Interior in a helicopter and put him right on the lawn there, and I went over there and I talked to the Commissioner again and he said, why don't you go and talk to Hayden or Fannin about it. I said I don't like to do that yet, Commissioner, because that would be too drastic and the time is coming when I will do it, and I think the time is here. It is here in this package and you can look at the pictures. The desks so close together you can't get around and the buildings are so old and——

Senator Fannin. But you are doing it now, is that right, Governor?

Mr. Allison. Yes. The other thing I wanted to point out, we are doing something about our housing, that is the important part. We are doing it in our program that was started here sometime back, and there are 51 programs in there which is now, we are through 18 months time and we are putting in our different projects.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How many children were there in a classroom?

Mr. **Allison**. There is a little paper in there. It is built there for 99 I think and it is over 130 kids in there.

Senator **Fannin**. Well, is this the rebuilt garage that you told me about?

Mr. **Allison**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How many in one class?

Mr. **Allison**. There is 60 in one.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How many?

Mr. **Allison**. Sixty in one of the big rooms and supposed to be 29. I think that little piece of paper——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I see one that looks a little like home.

Mr. **Allison**. We have used about every resource that we could get ahold of.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I do not understand why, when the facilities are done as badly as this, why they haven't done something about building another classroom.

Mr. **Allison**. I don't know. This is something that somebody has to follow through on, the time has come. I think it is up to you two gentlemen.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is there anybody from the Bureau here who can give us an answer to that?

Senator **Fannin**. I think you had told me, Governor, that you have done everything but go on the warpath.

Mr. **Allison**. Yes, and we are ready to go on the warpath now.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Actually, is there anyone from the Bureau of Indian Affairs here? I can't believe——

Mr. **Louis Monicle**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What is the reason nothing has been done about the classrooms?

Mr. **Monicle**. The principal reasons, and I am talking for myself and not as an official representative of the area director, is that the appropriations haven't been made for sufficient construction in many places in the Phoenix area.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Has that been requested for here?

Mr. **Monicle**. It has.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. By whom?

Mr. **Monicle**. By the area and the construction committees on a priority basis. We have to think of the whole area, and of construction needs at many places.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Trace that through with me. What happened when you came in and asked for a new facility to deal with this kind of problem?

Mr. **Monicle**. We submit to the Washington office for the plant design and construction. They in turn have to place these on a bureauwide priority basis because they will meet the needs or hope to meet the needs of all areas and not just of Phoenix alone.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What happened to this particular one, do you know?

Mr. **Monicle**. It was dropped down, that's all I know.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you know where it was knocked down?

Mr. MONICLE. No; I do not.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You know, those facilities, could hardly be much worse than that.

Mr. MONICLE. I will agree. That building was built in 1934 and would comfortably hold about 25 students and not even that if you had proper reading circles and such things as that in the classroom. I visited that school on a regular basis, I am in the branch of education, and it holds 30 and 35 regularly.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I just think with all the problems we have here at home, and the great—obviously from the testimony this morning—the tremendous needs that exist here and that we have seen elsewhere around the country with Indians and other minority groups, it is a very strong argument to ending the conflict that now takes $30 billion a year.

Mr. ALLISON. One more thing I might point out in this area. We have gone along and laid out 5 acres adjoining to the west of this whole facility. It is laid out there now, and we even have the sewer line there and adjacent to that we built, I think it is 12 new homes, in a fancy way there adjoining that, so it is a fancy place and we have got the land laying nice, with the school laying there, and there is no reason that they can't put that thing on there.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Those children can't possibly be educated under these conditions. We are just kidding ourselves.

Mr. ALLISON. That is my—I present that to you and I hope that you will——

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you, we will——

Senator FANNIN. We will make recommendations.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Some of us are trying to do more than that.

Senator FANNIN. I will agree with that and I will assure Governor Allison that we have already written to the BIA, and I have called Mr. Bennett, and we are on our way, and I hope that we will have success. I think that Governor Allison knows from the report I gave him in my office just a few days ago that we are doing everything possible to get you an improved situation.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I am in a different area.

Senator FANNIN. I was just trying to raise my own spirits in this area.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I hope by the end of the day you will support me.

Senator FANNIN. I am going to give you support for Indian education.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Mr. Juan Sinyella is supposed to be here and he is not here so we will now adjourn until 1:30.

## AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee resumed the hearing at 2 p.m.)

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Senator Fannin is here so we will begin.

Mr. Filmore Carlos, President of the Salt River Community.

## STATEMENT OF FILMORE CARLOS, PRESIDENT, SALT RIVER PIMA-MARICOPA INDIAN COMMUNITY

Mr. CARLOS. Thank you, Senator.

My name is Filmore Carlos, I am chairman of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Community.

I would like to read my statement, if I may, just starting there with point 1.

(1) We need our boarding schools as specialized high schools, not as social reformatories. We also need our day schools, as specialized elementary schools to help those of our children who have to catch up with the modern world. Those who are socially able are already attending Mesa schools voluntarily.

(2) There are those children whose only nutritionally balanced meal of the day is the school lunch, yet the public school district's policy is that children who cannot pay for their lunches should work for them. The result is that the child with a drunken mother and an unknown father who goes to school without any breakfast must work for his school lunch, but the fortunate child with both parents and goes to school with a full stomach and money in his pocket doesn't have to work for his lunch. Strangely, the child already handicapped is the one penalized.

(3) It is our hope that existing schools can be modified as a special school to encompass kindergarten and grades 1 through 6. In addition to well qualified classroom teachers the school should be staffed with teacher-aids who could well be mothers of some of the children in the school, who would take care of many of the routine housekeeping chores, run errands, help the children with their seat work, et cetera, freeing the teacher's time to provide more actual teaching per child.

(4) The ratio of aids to teachers should be at least 1 to 1. The six or seven teachers involved should have the services of a full-time clerk who can operate stencil machines, type notes to parents and take care of many of the routine classroom administration chores.

(5) Inasmuch as the children whom this school would serve will come from economically, culturally, emotionally deprived homes and will have problems of adjustment as well as problems of learning, the teaching staff should be large enough, yet it should not be necessary, for classrooms to accommodate more than 20 students.

(6) Curriculum should be designed on a levels basis, rather than a grade basis to consider the fact that some children learn in different ways than others and, certainly, learn at far different rates. There should be a provision for teaching Indian history especially as related to the Pima and affiliated tribes.

(7) Services of guidance personnel and social workers should be available on a continuing basis to children enrolled in the school and their families for kindergarten through the highest level taught.

(8) Classrooms should be designed and furnished with academic areas and "doing" areas. Many children served by this school are more manually than verbally oriented, and provisions should be made for introductory home economics and industrial art at the fifth and sixth grade levels. Curriculum enrichment should include field trips to points of interest around the area including places of Indian historical significance. Funds should be budgeted for same. This will give

children leaving this school and entering the public schools reasonable exposure to the society around them.

(9) With the ever increasing proficiency of health services, the children of this community have perhaps the best medical and dental attention of any group of children in the State. Yet, standards of personal hygiene and physical fitness are considerably lower as a general rule for this community than for the surrounding areas. To complement the health services received, the staff should include at least one teacher who can provide health education classes at all levels, provide supervised recreation for the younger children, and a structured program in physical hygiene and physical fitness which will ready them to enter the athletic competition of the public school junior high group.

(10) As a part of the administrative structure of this program, we see a need for a qualified guidance person who can devote full time to working with students from the community who are attending college. The community more and more has a need for college trained individuals but has not had a college graduate in over 30 years. Many of our young people enter college without knowing what is expected of them and many drop out after spending a year or more on campus without receiving any acceptable college credit. Perhaps the services of this person could also be used in conjunction with the education committee's efforts in counseling high school seniors to assure their entry into a program of higher education which offers the best assurance of success.

The administration of the tribal education program and the operation of the day school is not seen as a continuing BIA function. We would see the program being developed under the overall guidance of the tribal council and the tribal education committee, which would function as a community school board being responsible for setting policies, hiring a qualified administrator—principal—teachers and staff under contract funds made available by the BIA under the responsibilities delineated by law for educating Indian children. Within this climate of education more of our children and our young men and women will be encouraged to secure an education and apply this education to the needs of their community.

With the education program being operated by the community the value of an education will continue to increase in the eyes of the people, and the school with its professionally qualified persons will cease to be seen by our young people as something reserved for non-Indians who have historically given the Indian community the education which they feel it needs.

By understanding the history of his tribe and the circumstances of change, today's child can better adjust to the world beyond the circle of friends, relatives, and activities to which he is accustomed and in broadening his outlook, acquire pride in his tribal heritage. To be set apart as an American Indian is to be cherished unto success, not in spite of it.

In reference to the foregoing I would be happy to try and answer any questions that you may have along these 12 points enumerated.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. When you talk about community, what size are you referring to?

Mr. CARLOS. I am talking about a school community——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You say, "as a part of the administrative structure of this program, we see a need for a qualified guidance person who can devote full time to working with students from the community who are attending college. The community more and more has a need for college trained individuals but has not had a college graduate in over 30 years."

What do you mean there, how many people are you referring to?

Mr. **Carlos.** I am referring to a school population that enters the public school at a rate of 600 to 700 students per year, of which we have over and above that of 120 students in boarding school.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. And do you have any college graduates?

Mr. **Carlos.** We haven't any except for one, that was over 30 years ago. We have many who start college but never finish.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you.

Senator Fannin?

Senator **Fannin.** Filmore, on the reduction of Public Law 874 funds you have had some problems, have you not?

Mr. **Carlos.** Yes, along those lines we also do have some problems because of the fact that they are now channeled through the State, and the city of Mesa who is doing all the educating of our students does not derive the full benefit of those funds.

Senator **Fannin.** Well, I understand that you have had considerable difficulty from the standpoint of the coordination of effort of the different Federal agencies, that there has been some problem with knowing just exactly where to apply for funds, how to utilize those funds, where they overlap.

Mr. **Carlos.** I think our problem has been that of the city administration; there really is a lack of understanding between the cities of Scottsdale and/or Mesa and the community.

Senator **Fannin.** Have you been able to straighten out the problems that existed because they did not work together?

Mr. **Carlos.** Yes. That has been straightened out and there is good cooperation at this time. The school, the day school which will, I would not wish to confuse with the city of Mesa public schools, the day school we have taken over also more recently in the last couple months, under contract, and it is being run entirely by the tribal education committee.

Senator **Fannin.** What distances do the children travel, in other words, they are bused into Mesa from what distances, the farthest distance?

Mr. **Carlos.** I would suggest about 8 or 9 miles involved, a one-way trip from the farthest point.

Senator **Fannin.** Are there any schools that are nearer to the students?

Mr. **Carlos.** No, only the Lehigh School which is a public school and closer to them than that particular community which is part of our reservation, but the larger portion of Salt River is more close to Mesa than it is to Lehigh

Senator **Fannin.** Thank you very much.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you very much.

Senator **Fannin.** I certainly commend you, Filmore, for what you have been doing.

I have been very much aware, Senator Kennedy, of his activities and it is remarkable what they have done in the past few years.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I think your suggestions are excellent and it will be very helpful to the committee. Thank you very much.

Mr. CARLOS. Thank you.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Doctor Roessel. Very pleased to have you, Doctor. I am sorry, as you know, that I missed your school.

## STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT ROESSEL, JR., DIRECTOR, THE ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL, ROUGH ROCK, ARIZ.

Dr. ROESSEL. Some later date you can make it, we hope the subcommittee can. We will look forward to that.

Senator Kennedy, Senator Fannin, I first would like to enter into the record two statements by the Navajo Social Action Group who were at the meeting last night but were unable to present them to the subcommittee, so they asked that I present them at this time.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. They will be entered.

Dr. ROESSEL. I have a statement here that I will not follow. I would like to make in my few minutes a few remarks about Indian education and would like to begin by contrasting what I think are two approaches to Indian education, which became very evident yesterday at the Navajo Education Conference.

Yesterday morning Mr. Zeller, who is Assistant Commissioner for the Bureau of Indian Affairs for Education, and he explained what he thought were some of the key needs in Indian education, including a 10-month school year, competitive salary with public schools, salary increments based on graduate work, research evaluation, cost analysis, and so forth. I think that this is an approach to improving Indian education. I would like to suggest that it not be the only approach and perhaps is not even the most appropriate approach.

In the afternoon yesterday there was a talk by Dr. Carl Menninger of the Menninger Foundation and the Stone-Brannel Center in Chicago. I think the approach he presented is an approach that I feel has so much more to offer, and I personnally feel is much more in keeping with the feelings of this subcommittee.

He spoke of parental involvement. He spoke of a sense of pride in who you are. He spoke in a sense of identity. He spoke in terms of the relationship between a child's education and a child's teacher with the adult mental health of the individual. So, he pointed out that education is far more than merely the possession of facts and figures. It is far more than merely more of the same, and I so strongly believe that Indian education can only be changed if we do not go down the route of more of the same, but go down the route that both of you have stood for so well, a total and complete change of Indian education, a new thrust, a new sense of direction, under a sense of urgency, and I think that this is the reason I feel Indian people are so impressed and so helpful with the work of this subcommittee.

In the last section of my testimony I would like to mention Rough Rock, since the subcommittee was not able to visit it, and I am sorry at the inconvenience and the misunderstanding that has grown out of these canceled visits. The people at Rough Rock, and I spoke to two of the school board members just a few minutes before I left Window Rock to come here this afternoon, have neither bitterness nor anger.

They are disappointed, perhaps not as much as I have been because I looked so earnestly to the subcommittee coming to Rough Rock, but there was no bitterness, there was no anger, there was no butchered sheep, you might say. The Committee at Rough Rock is presently, and Annie Wauneka knows this, having hozhoni, which is a blessing way, which is a ceremony to bless the work, in this particular case the work of the subcommittee, so it is something, I think that reflects the concern of the Indian people for what this subcommittee is about to do and is doing.

At Rough Rock I think we have an interest in Indian education that perhaps is more in tune with Dr. Menninger's approach than with this more of the same approach. We feel the most important lessons that Rough Rock can teach us are the lessons first of local control and community involvement, parental involvement, in the decisionmaking, in the preparation of the curriculum, in all areas of the education of the children and the development of total education programs for all people. This is something I think that is revolutionized in Indian education. It is showing that Indian people, when given the right to be wrong, can make the kinds of decisions that people like myself with doctor's degrees couldn't begin to develop, couldn't begin to understand, couldn't begin to comprehend. We have a role to play, those of us who are professionals, but it is one of follow and expediting rather than leading, directing, and controlling.

So, I feel one of the most important areas that Rough Rock has to teach in Indian education and perhaps in all American education, is the importance of decisionmaking residing with the people served, and the Navajo people and Indian people throughout this Nation have the ability, regardless of their education, to direct and control the education of their children and the education of their community.

Our best programs at Rough Rock are programs not developed by the experts but programs developed by the people at Rough Rock. I concur completely with your feelings about boarding schools. I think they are barbaric, I think they are terrible, and yet I operate a boarding school. My job is to operate one at Rough Rock because we don't have roads to have a day school. Hopefully, with money appropriated, we can begin to transfer boarding schools into day schools. But, in any event, the program that the community developed in order to try to build the bridges between the home and the school and the dormitory was the dormitory parent program, where parents come in and live and sleep and play and love the children, and this is something that is trying to get away from the cold, sterile, clean atmosphere we have in so many boarding schools that is so destructive to the mental health and the future of Indian children.

The second area of significance at Rough Rock in my estimation, the major area, is the area of culture identification. This was so eloquently spoken of yesterday at the Navajo Education Conference by Dr. Menninger, wherein he says that all Americans, all people, must have pride in who they are if they are going to make the kinds of contributions they can make in this country, and that this country needs them to make. And, at Rough Rock we teach the Navajo language in the school and in the dormitory. We teach Navajo history, Navajo culture, parent problems and programs of Indian people. So these children are not either or, either Americans or Indians, but they are both, and both Americans and Indians are proud of both.

We have other programs. We have art, remedial reading, speech, many of these things, but these aren't the important programs. These aren't the essential programs in my way of thinking. I have said that I do not think the solution of the problems the Indian faces lies in more of the same. I think it involves the kinds of gut changes and making Indian people, allowing Indian people to have the responsibility for local control and encouraging cultural identification.

So, I think that many people will say the work of this subcommittee is impossible, under the guidelines you have, and the restrictions you have. But, I think that nothing is impossible. I think that if people would have said a few years ago that Indian people should do what they are doing now at Rough Rock, it would have been considered impossible.

I would like to close with this little poem that I believe should be a theme of this subcommittee. "Faith sees the invisible, believes the incredible, and accomplishes the impossible."

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Have you had any problems with Federal funds being available or allocated?

Dr. ROESSEL. Well, I think we are having a problem in the sense with the limitation on OEO with the reduction of OEO funding, there is this problem.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Has that been a practical problem?

Dr. ROESSEL. Not up through this year; no, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. This is just what you anticipate as far as the future?

Dr. ROESSEL. In terms of the coming year.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Have they told you yet what you can expect?

Dr. ROESSEL. They can only fund us perhaps at the 40-percent level next year.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Forty percent of what?

Dr. ROESSEL. Of what they gave us this year.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Will that cause you a great deal of difficulty?

Dr. ROESSEL. Well, it will, but we are trying to get money from private foundations.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. From what I heard and from what the Indians have done about the leadership you have provided, you have done a marvelous job.

Dr. ROESSEL. We have a seven-member school board: one guy finished the third grade, six never went to school. They are the ones that have done it.

Senator FANNIN. Dr. Roessel, of course I appreciate that you want to give someone else credit, but I know that you have given the leadership, the thinking that started this program and also the implementation of many of the different phases of activity that are involved.

What percentage of the parents are in a position to teach their children the English language?

Dr. ROESSEL. At Rough Rock our community has an approximate population of 1,500 in a 900-square-mile area and of this we perhaps have maybe 12 to 15 percent who speak some English.

Senator FANNIN. Well, don't you feel that your experience with this school proves that the parent participation, and the program that you have had where the school board members are Indian citizens has been something that in the future will not be so expensive? In other words, this experiment, of course, was costly. At the same time what we derived from it will prove that we can have parent participation through the Indian school board members and perhaps have a better education throughout without additional costs?

Dr. ROESSEL. I think that there is a very real misunderstanding with regard to Rough Rock that is held by many people, and that is, they figure that we have about twice the per student cost that other schools have. I am talking now in terms of Bureau of Indian Affairs. This is not so when you take the total number of people served by our school. We have 360 children and a little less than 300 adults in regularly scheduled programs, so if you take that total figure and divide that into the total amount of money you have you come out with even less than what is usually thought of, well, what is actually contributed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on a per capita basis. I don't want to say, though, that the answer to Indian education is to reduce expenditures.

Senator FANNIN. I am not saying that at all. I feel that what we want to do is to provide enough money to teach our youngsters as well as they should be taught, to have a program of excellence for the children. So I certainly am in agreement with you. But the cost now, from the standpoint of the losses to the children, cannot be measured in dollars and cents.

Dr. ROESSEL. Right.

Senator FANNIN. Nor can we measure the loss to the parents in dollars and cents. So, that is why we have followed your suggestions in many instances as to what needs to be done in order to have the program successful at the Rough Rock school carried out in many other areas.

Dr. ROESSEL. Yes.

Senator FANNIN. I think that this is going to mean a savings rather than another expense, and I feel confident that the results will be very rewarding.

So, I highly commend you for what you have done.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Just a few things, if you have finished.

Senator FANNIN. Yes; I have.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Could this same kind of principle be expanded, or would you advise expanding this, into high schools and perhaps into colleges.

Dr. ROESSEL. I think over 80 tribes sent representatives to Rough Rock in the period of 18 months. Last week in a 4-day period we had 21 tribes. I think Indian people are interested in Rough Rock, and I certainly would think that if Indian people want to expand the concept of Rough Rock they should be allowed to do so. The Navajo Tribe is interested in expanding this kind of a program to the high school level. The Navajo Tribe is interested in expanding this kind of a program to the community college level. Now, these are dreams, but Rough Rock was a dream a few years ago and it has come true, so I would say very definitely that when and if Indian people wanted, and I say they do, this sort of thing should be and can be expanded.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. My oldest child was planning to come to work at Rough Rock this summer.

Dr. **Roessel**. We are hoping she will.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I have another question.

I have strong reservations about boarding schools. I don't want to be misunderstood, I am not so concerned about older children but for very young children who, particularly against the will of their parents, lose the identification association with their family and tribal history, and so forth. I personally think it is very damaging. Did Dr. Menninger also talk about this?

Dr. **Roessel**. He feels very strongly about this. I think if you would have gotten him to talk he would have come over here, but the air was a little too rough and he doesn't like to fly, period.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I find that occasionally in Arizona myself.

Senator **Fannin**. We have the finest flying weather in the world.

Dr. **Roessel**. I think that he very strongly feels, as you feel, about boarding schools. I have heard him talk in regard to boarding schools, and he uses words that are even stronger than the words you have used.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you, I will look forward to talking to you again.

Senator **Fannin**. Thank you, Bob.

Dr. **Roessel**. Thank you.

(The prepared statements of Mr. Roessel and the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian community follow:)

### PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT A. ROESSEL, JR., DIRECTOR, ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL, ROUGH ROCK, ARIZ.

In an earlier written statement submitted to the Subcommittee, we discussed some of the major issues and problems confronting Indian education. At this time, I would like to take the opportunity of discussing Rough Rock Demonstration School and its significance to Indian education. Through an unfortunate set of circumstances, the proposed visit to the Demonstration School by the Subcommittee has proved impossible. This is to be genuinely regretted inasmuch as Rough Rock is to Indian education what America is to democracy.

The significance of Rough Rock to Indian education lies most intimately in the area of Indian interest. No other experiment in Indian education has attracted the imagination and sparked the hopes of Indian people from throughout this nation as has Rough Rock. This statement was prepared on Thursday, March 28th, so there were only four days in this week, yet during this four days span of time, 21 different tribes sent representatives to Rough Rock and there were 350 Indian visitors to the school as well as 150 non-Indian visitors. This provides a slight indication of the interest Indians have in this school and their interest in expanding the Rough Rock concept to meet needs on their own reservations.

The question that must yet be answered with regard to Rough Rock is the degree to which other tribes will be permitted to copy the Rough Rock approach of total Indian control on their own reservations and in their own schools. The Bureau of Indian Affairs states it is presently developing a set of guidelines which any interested tribe can follow if it wishes to establish a locally controlled school under a contract between the Bureau and the tribe or the community.

Surely this guideline, when developed, is an essential step in making it possible for Rough Rock to make a most significant contribution of local control.

Rough Rock makes it clear that Indian people have the capacity and the interest to direct, lead, and control their educational programs. However, money is being wasted at Rough Rock unless steps are taken to make it possible for interested communities and tribes to acquire their own control over their own schools.

It is indeed unfortunate many public schools on the Navaho Reservation feel threatened by Rough Rock or at least are unwilling to adjust their programs to what Navaho people want and soon will demand. The answer to Indian education, in my estimation, lies not in pressing for public schools nor for B.I.A. schools but rather pressing for schools, whatever their organizational pattern, which allow and provide for maximum Indian participation, involvement and control. Schools that fail to respond to Indian people and persist in taking a "father knows best" attitude are only sowing the seeds of their own destruction.

Another lesson which Rough Rock teaches loud and clear is that Indian education must be viewed far more broadly than merely the education of children. Community development and the community school concept are integral parts of the Rough Rock formula and as months go by, the school and the School Board and community increasingly expand and develop this area of concern. This is not a new concept in Indian education since under John Collier's leadership, community schools were built and operated during the 1930's. However, the extent of this interest and the nature of the programs developed far exceed those operated and envisioned during the 1930's. One of the most gratifying sights at Rough Rock is to see a room crowded with women learning ot write their names, learning to drive an automobile, learning basic arithmetic fundamentals, learning to speak some words of English, and learning what education is all about. Rough Rock has truly demonstrated that nothing is impossible if one is willing to place responsibility and decision making upon the shoulders of Indian people.

"Faith sees the invisible, believes the incredible and accomplishes the impossible."

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## Prepared Statement of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community

The early Pima Indians were an agricultural people who developed an effective system of irrigation canals and transformed the desert country around what is now Phoenix, Arizona into a lush, productive farming community. They were a proud people who successfully defended their crops, homes and families against marauding bands.

The father spent much of his time with his sons teaching them the Pima way of agriculture and the traditional responsibilities of men in the Tribe. They learned from their elders the history of their people and their proud heritage. While the Pima was a peace loving person, he was fierce and skilled in warfare.

The role held in early times by the Pima male and female has become confused because of several factors. One of the first losses suffered by the Pima people was the loss of their irrigation water. As the Federal government built flood control and power structures on the reaches of the river. With the white man's irrigation system new methods of farming were indicated and the old ways changed slowly. In the transition period much of the productive land reverted to desert growth. Many of the young Pima people left the reservation at this time to attend the white man's schools, and did much to learn the ways of the anglo.

The Christian religion was early embraced by the Pimas and this, in itself, came at a period of economic and political developments which placed self-protection and warfare of less importance. This reinforced the desire for children to be educated in a new way of life.

The Pima has kept his language, he does not ordinarily use it in the presence of non-Indians. We note that almost every Pima on the reservation speaks Pima, but meetings, even those restricted by interest or attendance to Pimas, are conducted in English. The older Pimas are concerned that the language be retained, but the younger members of the Tribe find a greater expression of abstract ideas in English. Modern education is needed to be a value by the community.

During the 1930's, a few Salt River children attended (primarily) the Scottsdale public schools. By 1948–1949 postwar crowding of these schools had reached the point where the informal arrangements for Indians to attend them were terminated. As a result, reservation residents started attending and identifying with Mesa public schools. By 1954, the numbers had swelled to the point where Johnson-O'Malley funds were requested. A rapid increase of Indian attendance in Mesa public schools followed, accompanied, naturally by a drop in attendance in the Salt River day school. At the time Salt River gained Agency status, more than 280 children, eligible to attend the day school, were already going to Mesa schools.

In July, 1962, when the Salt River Agency was formed, the operation of a reservation day school was taken over as part of the total Agency administrative responsibility. The Day School established in 1934, has undergone considerable modification both as a result of administrative action and because of community response to it. Originally both an elementary and a high school, it was cut back to eight grades during World War II. In 1958, arrangements were made with the Mesa Public School system to take over the eighth grade, and, in May of 1962 the seventh grade was similarly dropped.

The new Agency's education policy generally became one of continuing to facilitate the voluntary placement by reservation parents of additional children into the Mesa schools. It was not until the summer of 1963, with the employment of a reservation principal, that a broad Agency education program got underway. Beginning the fall semester, it became Agency policy that no children living in the small portion of the reservation annexed (for administrative convenience) into the Mesa school district in the early 1940's would be admitted into the day school's first grade. At the same time, a pre-school program for 5-year-olds (using the services of qualified volunteer teacher and funded by a charitable foundation and the Salt River Tribal Council) was initiated to replace the long-established "beginners" room which six-year-olds traditionally attended a year before starting the first grade.

The local kindergarten program described above was continued during the 1964–1965 school year. Beginning in the fall of 1965, an OEO funded pre-school program attended by substantially all community 5-year-olds, was initiated. So successful was this program that the parents of all but two of these youngsters enrolled them directly into the first grade in the Mesa public schools.

As a corollary of encouraging parents to voluntarily send their children to public school, the reservation principal initiated a comprehensive program (in cooperation with Mesa school administrators) to facilitate the adjustment of children into public schools; to encourage parents to actively take part in school activities; to utilize the day school teachers to assist less experienced Mesa teachers to understand the needs of Salt River Indian students; and to act as an intermediary between the reservation and Mesa School District.

As a result of negotiations, the total Indian community was taken into the Mesa Public School District, thus providing a legal basis for the admission of the reservation children into public school. The sole BIA school on the reservation, Salt River Day School, has replaced its traditional Beginners room with the OEO Headstart Program, thus eliminating the previous one-year retardation of Indian students. The seventh and eighth grades have also been eliminated to make the transition point from BIA to public school equivalent to the public school change from Elementary to Junior Hight School, which places all of the children in a changed environment at the same time. All of the first through sixth grade pupils have the choice of attending the BIA or the public schools; over half of them now do so. All pupils above the sixth grade attend public school except those sent to boarding schools for social reasons.

There is no question of transferring the physical plant of the BIA Salt River School to the Mesa School District, for it is at least a mile and a half from the nearest non-Indian home and thus would remain a segregated school, even though operated by the school district, and no improvement over the present. The present school building, with one quarter of its original classrooms, now remodeled into BIA offices, readily lends itself to conversion to use as a much needed community center.

The transition from BIA to public school was proceeding despite few objections by parents, until last year, when school guidance policy changed to "treat the Indians like any other people". In other words, little effort was made to assist the Indian children or parents in difficult situations with reaction outside their previous experience. With reactions at both ends of the age scale, of 35 students entering the senior class in high school, only 16 graduated, and the enrollment at the BIA school rose 25% over that anticipated, as the second and third graders fled back from public schools where they were not understood.

The trouble resulted from misunderstandings on both sides: non-enforcement of the truancy laws ("if the parents won't bother to send their children, we're certainly not going after them every day"), lack of school lunches ("no one told us we had to go to the school and sign a card"), more efficient routing of public school buses ("why should my child walk a mile to his school's bus stop when another school's bus runs right by our door?"). Three steps have been taken to remedy the situation:

(1) The public school system has reorganized its Indian Guidance Office; (2) the Agency has submitted a Public Law 89–10 program for a guidance councilor of its own; (3) the Tribal Education Committee has been given a contract to act as intermediary between the reservation students and their parents and both the BIA and public school systems, with the dual role of explaining the schools to the parents and the Indian customs and psychology to the schools. The Committee will be both assisted and advised by the guidance personnel to create a spirit of involvement and participation.

There are many problems to be solved as transition continues, unless we are merely encouraging more drop outs. The biggest single problem at present is the difficulty in giving the rural reservation children an experience broad enough to enable them to function in an urban middle-class school room.

In dealing with Indian education, there are two great groups of Indian children, first, there are those whose families have been strong enough, or lucky enough to have been able to adjust to the dominant white culture. These children usually have parents who are capable of holding down permanent semi-skilled jobs on which they can raise their families with the minimum necessities and comforts of the white culture. These children have homes and family activities that compare reasonably well with those of their classmates at the public school. These children are able to complete high school; some even go on to a few years of college.

The second group of children whose families have not adjusted to the white culture. These children are less able to compete in public school curriculum than are the ghetto children who are the object of the poverty programs, the civil rights programs, and the urban renewal programs. This is more true because the Indian children, unlike children of other ethnic groups, are expected to function in a foreign language, English, and to adopt ways, behavior and attitudes, also foreign. These children speak English only when they are in school. The activities of the normal home lives of white children their age can bear no comparison. They are from two different worlds, yet the insistence is that they be taught together, the same things, in the same amount of time.

The Bureau regulations began requiring the use in its school, of state approved texts, boarding school attendance was restricted to children with special social or educational reasons for not living at home. Now, it has gotten to the point at which the Indian Bureau is forcing children, irrespective of ability, to attend public schools, and the boarding schools are reserved for extreme problem children from like families. The needs of many of our Indian children can be met by the public school system and some of our children will continue to need the specialized services of Federal Indian boarding schools. There is a large group of children for whom neither public school or boarding school has the socio-educational answer. These are the children who need a specialized school located in the reservation community. The Salt River Day School, with adequate funding and staff, can prepare these children to meet the challenge of the present day education.

(1) We need our boarding schools as specialized high schools, not as social reformatories. We also need our day schools, as specialized elementary schools to help those of our children who have to catch up with the modern world. Those who are socially able are already attending public schools voluntarily.

(2) There are those children whose only nutritionally balanced meal of the day is the school lunch, yet the public school district's policy is that children who cannot pay for their lunches should work for them. The result is that the child with a drunken mother and an unknown father who goes to school without any breakfast must work for his school lunch, but the fortunate child with both parents and goes to school with a full stomach and money in his pocket doesn't have to work for his lunch. Strangely, the child already handicapped is the one penalized.

(3) It is our hope that existing schools can be modified as special schools to encompass kindergarten and grades one through six. In addition to well qualified classroom teachers the school should be staffed with teacher-aides who could well be mothers of some of the children in the school, who would take care of many of the routine housekeeping chores, run errands, help the children with their seat work, etc., freeing the teachers time to provide more actual "teaching" per child.

(4) The ratio of aides to teachers should be at least one-to-one. The six or seven

teachers involved should have the services of a full time clerk who can operate stencil machines, type notes to parents and take care of many of the routine class room administration chores.

(5) Inasmuch as the children whom this school would serve will come from economically, culturally, emotionally deprived homes and will have problems of adjustment as well as problems of learning, the teaching staff should be large enough, yet should not be necessary, for class rooms to accommodate more than twenty students.

(6) Curriculum should be designed on a levels basis, rather than a grade basis to consider the fact that some children learn in different ways than others and, certainly, learn at far different rates. There should be a provision for teaching Indian history especially as related to the Pima and affiliated tribes.

(7) Services of guidance personnel and social workers should be available on a continuing basis to children enrolled in the school and their families for kindergarten through the highest level taught.

(8) Classrooms should be designed and furnished with academic areas and "doing" areas. Many children served by this school are more manually than verbally oriented, provisions should be made for introductory home economics and industrial art at the fifth and sixth grade level.

(9) Curriculum enrichment should include field trips to points of interest around the area including places of Indian historical significance planned and funds budgeted for same. This will give children leaving this school and entering the public schools reasonable exposure to the society surrounding them.

(10) With the ever increasing proficiency health services, the children of this community have perhaps the best medical and dental attention of any group of children in the state. Yet, standards of personal hygene and physical fitness are considerably lower as a general rule for this community than for the surrounding areas. To complement the health services received, the staff should include at least one teacher who can provide health education classes at all levels, provide supervised recreation for the younger children and a structured program in physical hygiene and physical fitness which will ready them to enter the athletic competition of the public school junior high group.

(11) As a part of the administrative structure of this program, we see a need for a qualified guidance person who can devote full time working with students from the community who are attending college. The Community more and more has a need for college trained individuals but has not had a college graduate in over thirty years. Many of our young people enter college without knowing what is expected of them and many drop out after spending a year or more on campus without receiving any acceptable college credit. Perhaps the services of this person could also be used in conjunction with the education committee's efforts in counseling high school seniors to assure their entry into a program of higher education which offers the best assurance of success.

(12) The administration of the Tribal Education program and the operation of the day school is not seen as a continuing BIA function. We would see the program being developed under the overall guidance of the tribal council and the tribal education committee, which would function as a community school board being responsible for setting policies, hiring a qualified administrator (principal), teachers and staff under contract funds made available by the BIA under the responsibilities delineated by law for educating Indian children. Within this climate of education more of our children and our young men and women will be encouraged to secure an education and apply this education to the needs of their community.

With the education program being operated by the community, the value of an education will continue to increase in the eyes of the people, and the school with its professionally qualified persons will cease to be seen by our young people as something reserved for non-Indians who have historically given the Indian community the education which they feel it needs.

By understanding the history of his Tribe and the circumstances of change, today's child can better adjust to the world beyond the circle of friends, relatives and activities to which he is accustomed and in broadening his outlook, acquire pride in his Tribal heritage to be set apart as an American Indian is to be cherished unto success, not in spite of it.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Mr. Hadley Thomas, the elementary principal of the Tuba City public schools.

## STATEMENT OF HADLEY THOMAS, ELEMENTARY PRINCIPAL, TUBA CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, TUBA CITY, ARIZ.

Mr. THOMAS. I have a prepared statement here. In order to save some time perhaps I can just present certain parts of it.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. That's fine. However, if you wish, your prepared statement will be placed in the record following your testimony.

Mr. THOMAS. I think in any situation like this, in discussing the education of Indian children, there are certain basic considerations that perhaps should be brought out. I think one is education for what and why.

In my opinion, I think perhaps we should be talking in terms of how he should function as an educated person. This to me would mean that he could function within his own culture as well as having a choice of functioning in other cultures.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Could you just give your background? You are the principal of a public elementary school?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. And are they all Indian children?

Mr. THOMAS. No; we have about 90 percent Indian children and about 10 percent who are not Indian.

I have been at Tuba City 8 years, and it is a public school.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you. Would you go ahead.

Mr. THOMAS. I think that if you take the basic assumption that we are trying to prepare children, educate children to be functional in the society he finds himself in, he is going to have to function bilingually and biculturally. I think he will have to perform within his own culture and within the culture that he choses to perform in. I think if you accept this, then there are certain things that have to be part of his education experience and background.

I think within the framework of the educational systems in most communities right now one of the things that is happening is that your more academically successful student probably is going to leave this area. I think your student who is not as academically successful will probably remain to be your local leader and developer of the community mores and culture where he lives. I think maybe then, in terms of programs or a basic type of program, then these things have to be considered in this experience.

Now, as to——

Senator FANNIN. Would you feel that that is true if some of these children come back as doctors or in professions or as teachers? Some of them I know. How many of the Indian citizens do you have as teachers?

Mr. THOMAS. Pardon?

Senator FANNIN. You have several Indian teachers. I was just won dering what percentage.

Mr. THOMAS. I think we have five.

Senator FANNIN. I was concerned from the standpoint of the opportunities the leaders have in the community. You have indicated that the leaders then would leave the community.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, I think this is a nationwide thing. You see, I am comparing the reservation to a rural area. Of the Indian teachers we have, basically we have one teacher who is from the local community, even though there are Indian teachers from other communities.

Senator Fannin. I am just wondering how many of your students who will graduate from your school will go on to college and could be prepared for teaching or for service or for whatever is needed in the community?

Mr. Thomas. Well, I don't think there is any limitation on the number that could successfully complete a program who could return here and find employment since the community is growing. Of course, you realize Tuba City is a more settled area than many of the outlying areas, and when I am speaking of community I am taking community as a whole, like Red Lake, Tuba City, all of the different communities. I think normally speaking there are going to be many people leaving their local communities.

Senator Fannin. I realize that, but I think it is evident we need people in the service field. It is evident that at the schools we need electricians, people who are not perhaps in the graduate professions but are in professional work.

Mr. Thomas. I would hope a program would include both aspects.

Senator Fannin. Very good.

Mr. Thomas. I think in talking about a bilingual or bicultural type student there are some areas that could be pursued about which we don't have a lot of answers concerning right now. One of these, I think, is the concept of the bilingual school, where the early childhood education is conducted in both languages. I think this is being done in different parts of the country, and it may have some promise in our own particular situation.

I feel that maybe the whole area of social science could be developed further from the standpoint of putting a proper prospective, a proper emphasis, on the Indian's place on the history and development of the whole country, developing in him a national pride as an Indian and as an American. I think the whole key and basis in having the type of program to prepare a child for this is a definite contact, a definite assimilation, a definite part of the community. I feel that parents have to be involved, teachers have to be involved in the community, and it has to be a cooperative type thing.

Several times today I have heard the testimony of several groups expressing how hard it is to get good teachers, to keep good teachers. They need good teachers.

I think there should be some consideration of why this is true in some areas. I think part of it is the type of situation, which teachers tend to work. Usually a teacher coming to an Indian community and particularly on the Navajo and Hopi Reservations, finds that the quarters are in, if you want to call it, a separate compound, a separate area. The housing is completely normally separated from the community and it is difficult to get a cross communication going by—where the people live.

I think other things that affect good teachers staying and working in these areas are working conditions. I think they want the type of situation in which they can pursue academic courses to increase their salary, to have time off to do this sort of thing. Most married teachers want to become part of a place where they can buy a home, own some property and become part of a community. At present I don't think this is possible in the situation where we work.

I think if there was a possibility of more cooperative type programs between tribal governments, between the local organizations, the State and Federal Government, with definite programs developed for the benefit of the students, perhaps there wouldn't be a cross, or competition or diversion of effert in many of the areas.

I realize that the things that I have suggested here aren't all-inclusive. I have touched upon only a few of the highlights in the areas where I think there needs to be some work and to build programs.

Senator Fannin. One item I know that we discussed but I would like to discuss it with you again. Have you attempted to work out a program whereby you could have land available for homes? Has there been an endeavor in that regard?

Mr. Thomas. You are asking——

Senator Fannin. Yes, where you could lease or buy property, where a person could buy property so the home could be possibly financed on a long-term lease.

Mr. Thomas. In Tuba City the only land I know of that you might possibly get is private Indian land.

Senator Fannin. It is Indian land I realize, but have you tried to work out a program whereby land could be purchased for this need?

Mr. Thomas. No, we have not.

Senator Fannin. Don't you think it would be essential to try to work something out?

Mr. Thomas. I think it would be of great benefit, yes.

Senator Fannin. That is what I am concerned about. You speak of cooperative endeavors, where the community would work with the school. Isn't it just as important that the BIA schools and the public schools work together? I think that the need is evident in your community, and I understand. I commend you for the splendid school program that you have, but I am concerned because the same tax dollars are furnishing both educational programs, and still we are not lending the cooperation that I think should be forthcoming.

Mr. Thomas. I would extend that further, Senator, in saying that the tribe and the BIA and the public schools should work out joint programs.

Senator Fannin. I agree, but what I am trying to determine is why hasn't this been done? Have you attempted to work on any programs with the BIA?

Mr. Thomas. Not particularly in the classroom area. There are other cooperative areas where we work together.

Senator Fannin. Well, I think this is essential and I hope that we will try to bring this about all over the country. I think we are losing a very valuable item of opportunity if we do not follow through on this program.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I understand that you have developed some very imaginative educational programs to help Indian children, particularly in the bilingual area. Have the officials from the Bureau of Indian Affairs been working on that, studying what you have done, to try to have it implemented in other schools?

Mr. Thomas. We have had visitors from other schools. At the present the closest association I would say we have is with the Dilcon School which is to the north——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Have the BIA officials come to examine it to see how it works?

Mr. **Thomas**. Only the local people.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I think I am correct in saying that Mr. Thomas has done an extraordinarily fine job.

Senator **Fannin**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You would think that as long as you have had some success it would be something that the Bureau of Indian Affairs would want to study to see if it could be put into effect in some other districts. I am not asking for your comments, that is just my comment.

Senator **Fannin**. I feel that you have an opportunity to have a model school program and I feel that you do have a very excellent one, but at the same time we realized in visiting the school that there are many needs there. For instance, we have discussed the maintenance of the equipment—this is a serious problem. We need to overcome some of the other problems that exist, but I feel that by the coordination of effort and cooperating together we can do a great deal more.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Are any of your programs going to have to be eliminated or cut back?

Mr. **Thomas**. Not cut back in this sense, but we are definitely feeling the cut back in Public Law 874 funds.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Public Law 874?

Mr. **Thomas**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What has that meant as a practical matter?

Mr. **Thomas**. Twenty percent off the top of our budget.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What have you had to eliminate or cut back?

Mr. **Thomas**. It doesn't mean we have to completely eliminate them. The elimination would come in the budget for the coming year.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Where will you cut back?

Mr. **Thomas**. Well, in the general budget of the school.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What you would have been able to do or——

Mr. **Thomas**. This is what we are trying to figure out right now. We are in the process of trying to figure this out.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. My question or your answer?

You don't know yet what you are going to have to cut back?

Mr. **Thomas**. Not at this point.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I see. Would you let us know what programs will have to be cut back after you figure it out yourselves? Write the committee a letter so we will know the effect of the budget cut.

Senator **Fannin**. Will it not be the supplementary programs that you feel have gone forward and helped you considerably, aren't those the ones that will have to be cut back? You perhaps will not cut back on the teacher program or the number of teachers or the salaries but won't it be from the standpoint of the extra endeavors you were making to have an outstanding school program?

Mr. **Thomas**. I think basically these are decisions that have to be made by the superintendent of the board right now in terms of the budget. I think they are working on this. I think there is definitely a possibility that some of these programs will be affected by this.

Senator FANNIN. That is regrettable because you have shown what can be done, from the reports that we have received. You were going forward quite well. It would be regrettable if you cannot continue.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you, very much.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Thomas follows:)

## PREPARED STATEMENT OF HADLEY THOMAS, ELEMENTARY PRINCIPAL, TUBA CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, TUBA CITY, ARIZ.

### AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR THE INDIAN STUDENT

It would seem that the basic assumption in considering programs for the Indian student is that he deserves the best education possible. If you accept this assumption, then "best education" should be further defined. It is generally assumed that education prepares a student to take his place in society. Which society are we preparing the Indian student to enter—the urban society, the rural society, or the Indian society? It is apparent that not every Indian student will move to the large city, or to a town, or enter college. Some students will want to remain where they were raised, others will not. With these facts in mind—there has to be a dual consideration in the education of the Indian student. Perhaps we can state that the best education for the Indian student would be an education which would make him a functioning bilingual, bicultural individual who could participate in more than one society as needed. If this, then, is the need of the Indian student, there are some approaches that can aid in this education.

1. To become a functioning member of the Indian society—the student must progress through stages of development in that society. This means that he has to live at home to participate. If he cannot live at home, then the elements of his society must be brought to him. To make this possible, wherever the student attends school there needs to be local involvement in the educational process. Curriculum must meet the needs of the local school for the particular community and student personnel.

2. Background and experience vary greatly within any group of children. In some communities those students who are academically successful will, through education, leave and move into other areas. Those students who are less successful academically will probably remain in the local community. If this is true, then there should be different types of programs for the two groups. One program should develop the type of academic skills that are essential for continued education. The other program should help students become successful leaders in the local community. Programs should be individualized as nearly as possible in all situations.

3. A child in an Indian culture is usually allowed much freedom of choice and participates in daily life with several adult members of his extended family. Beginning school programs should be flexible enough to provide movement, choices, and association with more than one adult. Some of these adults should be from his own culture, and some from a different culture. A flexible program could provide an opportunity for the student to progress at his own rate. Academic achievement should not be governed by a set curriculum to be covered in a given time.

4. If it is essential that the Indian student learn to function in English—then this should receive major emphasis in the educational program. Teaching English to students who don't speak English requires special skills. Teachers who work in this area should be qualified to do so. The professional organization for teachers in this field is TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages). Perhaps this is the organization to contact for help in developing programs and establishing standards. Although the organization is new, the membership contains people with vast experience in this field.

5. The concept of the bilingual school where students are taught initially in both languages should be investigated thoroughly. There are several programs of this nature in operation and these may be of real value. Such a program would require trained teachers who speak the Native tongue and trained teachers who speak English to teach similar concepts.

6. Social science programs should be developed to emphasize the proper perspective and placement of the Indian in the history of this country. Students should develop pride in themselves and their country.

7. The basic educational program should be the major concern of the school. The success of this program does not depend upon the number of students per teacher or the square footage per pupil in classrooms. If the program requires additional specialized teachers and different types of classrooms—then, they should be provided.

The establishment of any good educational program requires qualified teachers who are readily accessible to students. It is necessary that these teachers have a degree of permanency in the community. There are several pertinent considerations regarding teachers who move to isolated, culturally different communities.

1. Contact with the members of the community is essential. Teachers need to know local customs, history, leaders, parents, and to be involved in community problems. Housing should be adequate without isolating the teacher from the community. Teachers need to be able to associate with someone other than teachers after the work day is over. If teachers on the reservations had the opportunity to build or buy homes in the community, they would tend to become more permanent members of that community.

2. If teachers are to create the special materials that are needed to make an effective program—they need time and assistance. This assistance can be provided by members of the community serving as teacher aides.

3. School personnel from the superintendent to the classroom teacher should meet the minimum standards for the state in which they work. All school personnel should have current state certification. Teachers should be involved in professional organization sand should have a voice in curriculum development and policy making.

4. The school day should vary in length according to the age of the students—longer days for older children and shorter days for younger children.

5. Teachers should be free to fulfill academic requirements for degrees in specialized areas. All teachers should be able to use periods when schools are not in session to increase their professional skills. This should be rewarded financially as an incentive to seek additional training. Teachers should be sent to school for specialized training with the idea of filling a need for the local school. Key positions should be open to any person who demonstrates unusual skill and ability for that type of position. When teachers enjoy working in a school, become attached to students, and are able to buy homes, they are more likely to become a part of the community.

Some other basic considerations are these:

1. Effective communication between community and school depends upon the proximity of parents and the school officials who make policy decisions. To develop this proximity, good roads, limited distance bus routes, and realistic educational district boundaries must exist.

2. Cooperative programs that benefit the students should be developed by the state, local, tribal, and federal governments. The total efforts of the various agencies would then be channeled toward the development of the best program for the students.

3. Parents who are involved in the educational process are more likely to accept the responsibility for the education, health, and well being of their children.

4. School construction should be developed around school programs, anticipating future needs to enhance program innovation and long range planning.

5. The school should provide opportunities for all members of a community in the form of adult night classes and vocational training. It should be the center for cooperative community activity.

None of these suggestions for an Indian Education program has been developed in detail. However it is felt that they are important considerations for developing the best education possible for the Indian student.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Mr. Walter Carpenter.

## STATEMENT OF WALTER CARPENTER, SUPERINTENDENT, GANADO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, GANADO, ARIZ.; ACCOMPANIED BY ERNEST BECENTI, MEMBER, GALLUP-McKINLEY BOARD OF TRUSTEES, GALLUP, N. MEX.; REBECCA DOTSON, GALLUP, N. MEX.; AND ROBERT SCHMITT, SUPERINTENDENT, CORTEZ SCHOOL DISTRICT, CORTEZ, COLO.

Mr. CARPENTER. Since we are somewhat on time, and with the indulgence of the Senators, I wonder if we could declare this to be the seventh inning and everybody take a seventh inning stretch?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. If you want to. I am all right.

Mr. CARPENTER. If not, we will go ahead.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Will you identify yourself?

Mr. CARPENTER. Yes, sir. I am the superintendent of the schools of one of the Arizona schools on the Navajo Reservation. I have here Mr. Ernest Becenti, a Navajo Indian, who is on the Gallup-McKinley board of trustees, and Rebecca Dotson, both from New Mexico. I also have the superintendent of the Cortez School District in Colorado, Mr. Robert Schmitt.

We seem to have the only agency that hasn't been a whipping boy in that we think we have some of the answers to educating the Indian as well as the non-Indian child.

When we heard that this subcommittee was to meet here, some 14 school districts and 14 superintendents met to formulate some statements that we would like to pass on to you for your consideration.

We represent here today some 25,000 Indian youngsters who are in the public schools of the three States. Public school education for Indians per se is a relatively new thing in that prior to about 15 years ago there was very little schooling given to the Indian youngsters on or off the reservation by the public schools. However, within the last 10 years we have had approximately a 10-percent Indian growth.

I think we are all aware of what the public school philosophy is; that is, the best possible education for all youngsters, and this more nearly, I think, meets the needs of all the people. We put into the public schools the Navajo child, a Spanish child, the colored child, all into the same classroom, and it depends upon the law of the State you are in whether or not Navajo or Hopi or other tribal languages are allowed to be spoken.

Generally speaking they do not use it in the classroom of public schools but neither do they frown on it if they use it on the playground and to and from schools by bus.

We don't have a quarrel with any of the other types of education going on. However, we would like to get in our plug also for additional funds under the various Federal laws that are presently helping to fund our program. Among those I am sure you are aware of the construction bill, Public Law 815, public bill 874, Johnson-O'Malley—which is the basic funding law—and, of course, recent financial assistance under Public Law 8910. We think we have a more typical type of education, best needed as it was illustrated here by our disregard or dislike, I should say, for young children to go to boarding schools. The public school, of course, is on a day basis, the child living at home, the parents helping to educate the youngster in his native ways, if you please, and we have the parents and others in the community involved. A good illustration of that is Mr. Becenti here who is an Indian and on the board of trustees of the Gallup-McKinley County representing some 10,000 youngsters.

There are some inequalities in the program between the Bureau and the public schools, and I think that we need, as has very well been pointed out here, more of a cooperative type thing.

I am mentioning just one for your consideration. When the Bureau of Indian Affairs constructs a school they generally provide adequate living quarters and the word adequate is always under quote. Whereas, whenever the Office of Education constructs schools and calls the shots on it, the quarters particularly are highly inadequate, and I think we can document that in all three of the States.

Generally speaking, I think as I said before, the idea that the Indian people become involved through the board of trustees, that they serve on it, that they help in that way to make the rules and regulations that govern the school, and I think this is what Dr. Roessel was trying to do with the boarding schools concept to get the Indian to say in how the school be run and not be dictated from higher up, whenever that might be, either from the State or Federal level.

I would like to now turn the mike over to one of our Indian teachers and let her say a word or two.

Mrs. DOTSON. No one has asked what kind of school the Navajo child wants or the parents want and I feel that I know because I am Navajo and a teacher. Most parents prefer the public school, and feel that it seems to be one of the answers for their children because here they mingle or comingle with other people of different races or tribes or whatever you want to call them.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Could you develop that a little bit?

Mrs. DOTSON. What do you mean develop?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What other aspects of it do you think they want? You said nobody has spoken about what the Navajo wants themselves or for the Navajo child.

Mrs. DOTSON. Well, I am sure that all the Navajo parents would like to have their children at home and they would like for the schoolbus to come nearer their hogan and take them to school and bring the child home in the evening, and have their child at home rather than have them at boarding schools. And the Navajo people feel that the public school seems to do a better job than most schools like the boarding school.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What do you think needs to be done about the transition from the history and culture of the home to the public school system? Do you think more has to be done with that?

Mrs. DOTSON. Yes; I think so.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. In what way?

Mrs. DOTSON. Well, if we had more day schools on the reservation, the child would keep his heritage and his culture. Here he can identify, whereas if he is in the public school he really doesn't know where he belongs, whether he belongs in this society or that society. He never finds himself.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you think that this is one of the reasons we have such a high dropout rate?

Mrs. Dotson. Yes; I do. And also, too, that the student—when he comes into a public school—I think there are some teachers, not all teachers who take an interest. For instance, I feel that I can give credit only to one teacher which I didn't find until I was in the seventh grade. She took an interest in me to the point where I could become something and that there were other things than just going to school or playing ball or scrubbing floors as they do sometimes in the boarding schools.

We do need roads on the reservation for the Indian child to get to the public school.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How far do the children have to walk sometimes?

Mrs. Dotson. Well, sometimes 2 miles.

Senator Kennedy of New York. To get to the bus?

Mrs. Dotson. To get to the bus; and until recently in our district we have some children going 50 miles. We cut that down to 12 miles when our New Mexico children could attend a school in Arizona. This concerns our high school students, who go about 50 miles. They have to get up awfull early.

Senator Kennedy of New York. You mean buses that went 50 miles?

Mrs. Dotson. Yes.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I saw some children up in Utah who were traveling 60 miles, I think, to school and walked 4 or 5 miles to get to the bus.

Senator Fannin. I would just like to ask this quetsion. You have talked about the community centers and the schools where the children could attend and still live at home. You have mentioned the roads. There is a study being made, and I hope that it will disclose entirely what we all want, that is that the community centers could be involved. Now, do you feel that the Indian people, the families, would have a tendency to move near those centers or near those community centers whereby they could have better facilities for the children, not only from the standpoint of education, of course that is the first requirement for the child, but also from the standpoint of health and care?

Now, for instance, if we had had some centers on the Navaho Reservation when we had this big storm, we perhaps could have saved some lives. There is usually a nursing aide or someone who is qualified connected with the school to give emergency treatment when necessary, until medical treatment, full medical treatment, is available. Wouldn't this be a good objective?

Mrs. Dotson. Yes; I think you heard that from Annie Wauneka when she mentioned the fact that the little school they had was moved out. Well, many of the people lived 15, 10 miles away from this little trading store and the day school. They have moved their hogans closer in. Of course their stock, and what have you, are still 10 and 12 miles back, but they still have another hogan where they could go and stay with their children while they had to be in the day school. We used to have a public school with 17 children there.

Senator Fannin. That is very encouraging, but looking forward over the years, developing these roads and these centers, you feel that the people would come at least close enough to where the children could attend the schools daily?

Mrs. Dotson. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. Allow me, if you will, to expand on that, since I represent that very thing you are asking about.

Senator Fannin. Well, Mr. Carpenter, why I asked was because I had been told by some people that the Indian parents would not want to move and so we could not accomplish this objective. We would still need the boarding schools. We, of course, were hoping that looking down the road we could have these community centers and have a proper school program for the children, and we could give them the same schooling that is being received in our cities and towns.

Mr. Carpenter. Well, here again I have nothing but the greatest admiration for Mrs. Wauneka—she happens to live in our school district at Ganado—it was through her efforts 7 years ago that we built a new school. I don't mean to belabor this at the expense of my neighbor States, but the school had no high school there. There was a mission school in Ganado, as you probably know, but with only 28 youngsters and operating in a corner of the building which is three classrooms. We inaugurated a high school—grades nine throuh 12; 7 years later there are 265 youngsters in our public high school.

Senator Fannin. I understand next year until title III, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, there is a provision whereby the supplemental education centers can be financed up to a certain point.

Mr. Carpenter. Yes.

Senator Fannin. Have you made any study of what you will do in this regard?

Mr. Carpenter. Yes, sir. We are at the present time of course working with I suppose five or six different Federal grants, and I am refering now to my own school district.

Senator Fannin. Yes; that is why I am asking.

Mr. Carpenter. For example, we have on the drawing board a new plant under Public Law 815. We too are a great recipient of funds, almost a third of a million dollars of our a little over $1 million comes from Public Law 874 and then another quarter of a million dollars comes from the Johnson-O'Malley program. And, we supplement that with titles I, II, and then eventually III.

Senator Fannin. So you feel that you will have an educational program that will be just as satisfactory for our Indian youngsters as is available for them in many of the cities and towns of our country?

Mr. Carpenter. Yes; I feel very definitely that after just 5 years we will be eligible now, next year, after completing 5 years' probationary period to be a member of the North Central Association of Accreditation.

Senator Fannin. That is commendable.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How much money do you receive under title I now?

Mr. Carpenter. $152,000 for our school district.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How many families do you have?

Mr. Carpenter. A little over 2,000 families. We have a total enrollment in our school of 1,250, that is grades one through 12. Eighty-five percent of the families in our area are under the poverty level.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How many families are on welfare?

Mr. Carpenter. I would hesitate to answer that, I am not sure.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How did you use that money?

Mr. Carpenter. How did we use it? Basically we provided teachers aides, first of all, to take care of the routine nonprofessional duties that the teachers always have a gripe about. We bought additional materials. We are running a summer program basically in reading and in teaching English as a second language and the recreation.

Incidently, we have had a lot of rapport from the Navajo tribal police in keeping youngsters out of problems. We have run this now for 3 years and it has been what I consider most successful.

Those are some of the ways in which we have used the funds.

Senator Fannin. In those 3 years have you any record of the dropout rate, what changes have come about in the dropout rate or the number or percentage of students graduating?

Mr. Carpenter. It has gone up considerably. We—I don't have any statistics here at hand.

Senator Fannin. 10 percent, 20 percent——

Mr. Carpenter. I would estimate 15 percent.

Senator Fannin. 15 percent more of the students are graduating?

Mr. Carpenter. Are going on, yes.

Senator Fannin. Fine.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Anything else?

Mrs. Dotson. I feel that a student that attends a public school has a better chance of competing on a college level too, and then also, Senator Kennedy, I heard you say you had a list of names of those who would help Indian children. We would like to have that if possible for our high school.

Senator Kennedy of New York. You mean students who would be willing to help?

Mrs. Dotson. Yes.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Do you get many young people volunteering from the universities who are willing to help?

Mrs. Dotson. Well, the only one I know is from Fort Collins, of course it is a grant college, that would take Indian students in on free tuition.

Senator Kennedy of New York. It is a good idea, I think, for the various universities to take that on as a project. Universities in other States have similar kinds of operations.

Senator Fannin. Well, I would certainly praise the universities in Arizona. Northern Arizona University is taking a lead in this regard and is very active. They do have a program that is going forward. Arizona State University is also doing a great deal as is the University of Arizona, but I do not think we are doing enough.

I agree with Senator Kennedy that we should encourage this participation by the schools, through the students, to work with our youngsters.

Senator Kennedy of New York. That seems to me something the students themselves could take on. This university has done much in giving so much leadership, but also we need individual students to help these children. I think one for one could be very helpful.

Mrs. Dotson. A Navajo child who goes off to college has to depend on the tribal scholarship. His parents can't help him at all.

Senator Fannin. Maybe we can get some clubs organized for this very purpose.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you very much for your fine testimony. That was very, very helpful.

I hope some of the students who are here would take it upon themselves to organize some kind of projects that Senator Fannin and I were talking about here. I think it would be very helpful and possibly spread to some other universities. I think that is all of the witnesses today so the subcommittee will adjourn its hearings.

If anybody has anything that they would like to submit to the subcommittee, testimony you think would be helpful, send it in to us in Washington over a period of the next several weeks, and we will have it printed in the record.

We thank all of the witnesses. It has been a very informative day for hearings and I know it will be useful to us as we formulate some legislation and also make some suggestions to the executive branch of the Government for action. There is a lot of deficiency in this field and there is a great deal that needs to be done by all of us, and I hope we won't waste any time.

Thank you very much.

At this point in the record I order printed all prepared statements and other pertinent material submitted by persons unable to attend the hearing.

(The material referred to follows:)

## PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM HUSCO, A STATE SENATOR OF ARIZONA, AND CHAIRMAN, ARIZONA STATE EDUCATION COMMITTEE

There is no desire in the State of Arizona to deny educational advantages to every child regardless of race, color or creed. Within the confines of Indian reservations it has been difficult, however, for an Indian child to achieve equal education opportunities because of conflicts between state and federal jurisdictions.

To fully understand this is to learn what has transpired on Indian tribal lands during the last 100 years under federal stewardship. What was originally envisioned for the education of Indian children and what has occurred in their behalf during most of this time is different from what is transpiring now under the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

There are ever increasing pressures out of Washington to saddle the State of Arizona ultimately with the complete cost of educating the Indian child. And this is occurring despite the existence of treaties and mandates wherein the United State Government has made full guarantees for the education of Indian wards and has historically undertaken the cost of educating them.

Education was originally accomplished by boarding schools located on or near the reservation and by contract with off-reservation schools. Since the mid-fifties when the State of Arizona was barely in the Indian education picture there has been marked departure in the posture of the state relative to paying Indian school costs in reservation schools.

Arizona today is making an auspicious contribution to Indian education. It is contributing $200 per child in ADA payments for about 12,000 Indian children. This denotes neither moral or legal responsibility for the education of Indian wards on the reservation but simply a fact that this state is unalterably dedicated to the proposition that proper education must come to the Indian child.

In Arizona the impact of this transfer is particularly severe in those local school districts comprised principally of Indian lands. Approximately 27% of the State of Arizona is Indian reservation land, and there are a number of Arizona school districts located on the Indian reservations which contain only a small fraction of non-Indian lands.

Financing schools operated by these districts is complicated by the fact that all tribally owned lands, improvements and properties on reservations are exempt from taxation. For this reason the tax base for the support of schools on reservations is narrow and the taxpayers are few in number. Improvements and facilities on Indian lands, held under lease or easement, and personal property owned by non-Indians must bear the entire portion of taxes imposed on the local taxpayer.

By regulation and by interpretation of regulations, the federal government is continuing to reduce its responsibility for Indian education and increase the burden upon local taxpayers despite the lack of adequate tax base. Interpretations which are reasonable as applied to school districts in an area with adequate tax base become unreasonable when applied to a school district on the reservation with 90% Indian children and few taxpayers. Proposals now made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Arizona Department of Public Instruction would further erode federal responsibility and impose drastic and unreasonable burdens upon the local taxpayers.

It is the opinion and position of the State of Arizona that the Indian child should have a proper and complete education to enable him to integrate into American society but it is incumbent upon Arizona to press our demands that the federal government assume the obligation of financing the education of our Indian children in our public schools.

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Lower Brule Sioux Tribe,
*Lower Brule, S. Dak., April 23, 1968.*

Hon. Robert F. Kennedy,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Indian Education,*
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

My Dear Senator Kennedy: The enclosed statement of the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe is being furnished to you for your study on Indian education.

We regret that, due to an office error, it was not presented at your recent hearing in Pine Ridge, South Dakota. We sincerely hope you will consent to our request that it be included as part of the record of testimony regarding Indian education on South Dakota reservations.

The statement was compiled from testimony furnished by volunteer teachers and other interested parties at a meeting of the Tribal education committee March 26, 1968.

We deeply appreciate your concern with the problems of Indian education and hope your study will result in better education for our people.

Very truly yours,

Kay Gorneau, *Councilwoman.*

Enclosure.

## Prepared Statement of Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, Lower Brule, S. Dak.

Elementary age school children (grades 1–8) on the Lower Brule Sioux Indian reservation receive education of questionable value under undesirable conditions in a Bureau of Indian Affairs day school. Sub-standard teachers, an inadequate building and the obsolete, irrelevant educational philosophy of the Bureau contribute to a school system we believe is harmful to our children. Elementary education, or the lack of it, is in many cases directly related to the excessively high drop-out rate of our high school youths.

Four teachers, one of whom is also the principal, are responsible for more than 100 children enrolled in the Lower Brule school. Two grades are combined in each of the school's four classrooms. (This outmoded school plan was constructed only five years ago at a cost of nearly $1 million and clearly demonstrates the Bureau's backward thinking.)

In addition to the teachers, three aides have been hired with ESEA Title I funds. (One of the aides, the janitors and the cooks are the only Indians on the school staff.)

While the aides have assumed many of the teachers' classroom chores, leaving more time for planning, it has made no difference in the teachers' approach. Convinced that the students are "wild" and "different," the teachers depend on rote and drill methods and spend most of their time trying to keep the students quiet.

The teachers know little about, and consider less, the cultural backgrounds and homes of the children. All of the teachers are natives of the area, and come into the Bureau system armed with all the non-Indian's prejudices common in this state. In many cases it is obvious the teachers hold their students' Indianness against them.

In addition to their prejudices and poor classroom approaches, the teachers persist in violating explicit Bureau rules against verbal humiliation and corporal punishment. Tongue lashings are common; order is kept in the primary grade room with the threat, and often the reality, of a stick; frequently primary grade children are forced to sit in a locked closet for punishment. School becomes a terrifying experience as well as a waste of time.

These violations continue although the reservation principal from the Pierre Agency has been personally notified at least twice of their occurrence. Parental protests and personal confrontations with Bureau officials have had no effect, although these abuses should end immediately.

The Tribal education committee, concerned about crowded conditions and the school's high pupil-teacher ratio, drafted a resolution more than two months ago requesting additional teachers and a full-time school principal. (A copy is attached.) At that itme, the resolution was virtually ignored by the Pierre Agency superintendent, and no action has been taken or, we believe, contemplated. The superintendent's comment was that Bureau schools can provide only one teacher for every 30 students, and the matter ended.

This reservation needs special education facilities perhaps even more than school systems in non-Indian society. Many of our young children suffer severe emotional problems and social maladjustment due to unstable or shattered family situations. A few others are mentally retarded because of childhood illnesses or birth defects. These children and their parents do not even have the benefit of examinations by trained specialists, since the Bureau does not provide that service here. Crowded classrooms make it impossible for them to get the individual attention and compassionate understanding they desperately need.

We recommend that provisions be made for special education so that a classroom and specially trained teachers will be available for these children.

The school curriculum is not planned to answer the needs of Indian children. Textbooks of the non-Indian "Dick and Jane" variety are introduced at the primary level and continue through the eight grades. Pride in their heritage is not encouraged, since the students seldom hear anything about Indian culture or history. At the same time, they are discouraged from entering society off the reservation since their non-Indian teachers demean, degrade and humiliate them. To us, it seems the students are captive in a school where they are cut off from their past and left without a future.

We strongly recommend that the Bureau adopt a policy of mandatory and intensive teacher orientation in Indian problems, culture and history. Perhaps then Bureau schools will begin to provide what for so long they have withheld—tools for living in the fast-paced and sometimes bewildering twentieth century.

Throughout its history, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has prevented the Indian from managing his own life, and this policy is evident in Bureau-run schools on reservations. Without a local school board, our parents have no voice or control over their childrens' education. Their only forum, the Parent-Teachers' Association, has met once on this reservation since school began in September.

We recommend that the Bureau initiate a policy of establishing reservation school boards to plan curriculum and policy for BIA schools.

We believe that the conditions in our school are deplorable and should be corrected immediately. We recommend that steps be taken to hire a full-time principal, better trained teachers, and a special education teacher. We request construction of more classrooms, separation of grades, and establishment of a kindergarten.

We cannot expect support from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and therefore we sincerely hope that your concern and interest will someday insure that our children will receive the quality education which is their right.

## RESOLUTION NO. 68-61—LOWER BRULE SIOUX TRIBAL COUNCIL

### REQUEST ADDITIONAL STAFF AT LOWER BRULE DAY SCHOOL

Whereas the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe after many years of inadequate school facilities has finally acquired modern educational facilities at Lower Brule, and

Whereas the Tribe expected that with these new facilities their youth would be given the best education possible, and

Whereas this is not being accomplished because the school is understaffed and as a result the children graduating from the eighth grade and entering high school are not able to maintain the necessary grades because they have not been adequately schooled through grade school, and

Whereas because these students cannot make the grade in high school there are many dropouts and few graduate from high school, and

Whereas one of the reasons these students' educational level is not up to par is because there is a definite need for additional staff at the Lower Brule Grade School, and

Whereas the principal-teacher is not only responsible for teaching the 7th and 8th grade but also has administrative responsibilities thus causing him to neglect his teaching responsibilities, and

Whereas the 1st and 2nd grades are combined under one teacher which does not enable her to give the necessary attention to these beginners to properly prepare them for the rest of their school years because of the large number of students in these two grades, and

Whereas there is a definite need for a kindergarten to prepare the children for first grade: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved to request,* That the Bureau of Indian Affairs immediately alleviate the situation at the Lower Brule Day School by furnishing additional teachers as needed and an administrative assistant to the principal-teacher so that he can devote his full time to teaching and the students graduating from the eighth grade can be better prepared to enter high school and maintain the necessary grade level so that they can graduate.

### CERTIFICATION

The foregoing resolution was duly adopted by the Lower Brule Sioux Tribal Council with quorum present in regular session on February 7, 1968, by the affirmative vote of seven members with none opposing.

Attest:

RICHARD THOMPSON,
*Chairman, Lower Brule Sioux Tribal Council.*

JOYCE ESTES.

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## INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF ARIZONA, COLORADO, AND NEW MEXICO

The purpose of this report is to present the position of the public schools in educating Indian children. It represents the viewpoints of the majority of the public schools in Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado.

These public schools are educating more Indian pupils than any other agency in this area, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs. According to the Education Departments of Arizona and New Mexico, the enrollment of Indian children during the 1966–1967 school year was as follows:

| | Arizona | New Mexico | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Public schools [1] | 13,220 | 15,155 | 28,375 |
| Federal schools | 16,624 | 9,522 | 26,146 |
| Mission and private schools | 3,000 | 3,025 | 6,025 |

[1] While complete statistics are not available from Colorado, it is our understanding that the large majority of Indian students in Colorado are public school students.

The specific public schools at this hearing in Flagstaff represent 13,543 Indian students.[2] Since the public schools represent educationally the largest segment of Indian children in this area, we sincerely hope that our position will influence the future thinking of this committee.

We believe that the public schools have not received adequate financial assistance in educating the Indian child. The role of the public school has been rela-

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[2] 1966–1967 Enrollments of Public Schools Represented at Flagstaff Hearing of March 30, 1968:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chinle, Ariz | 1,369 |
| Ganado, Ariz | 916 |
| Window Rock, Ariz | 1,498 |
| Gallup-McKinley County, N. Mex | 5,800 |
| Central Consolidated, N. Mex | 2,700 |
| Dulce Schools, __. Mex | 531 |
| Montezuma-Cortez, Colo | 260 |
| Total | 14,074 |

tively a recent one. Primarily, the reason was the inaccessibility of the Indian child to the public school. Now better roads, more adequate transportation facilities, and federal assistance have enabled the public schools to assume the education of greater numbers of Indian children in their districts. During the last fifteen years in New Mexico, the enrollment of Indian children eligible for Johnson O'Malley aid in public schools has increased ten-fold.[3] The public schools feel that this is their proper function. We feel that these increases reflect the attitude of Indian parents: that they want their children educated in public schools.

In this regard, we believe that the public school offers the proper environment for the Indian child. Much is made, and properly so, of the fact that the Indian child must adapt to modern society while preserving the best of his Indian heritage. We feel that he can best achieve this acculturation by living at home and being transported to school. We feel that the advantages of an Indian home life coupled with advantages of a multi-cultural, racially-integrated school life as offered by the public school will solve this difficulty. Our nation's history has repeatedly manifested the public school's success in racial assimilation in the past.

It is here also that the Indian parent may truly have a voice in determining the kind of education his child shall have. In our districts, Indian patrons are serving on boards of education in substantial numbers. We believe that conditions vary from district to district, that flexibility in programming must be developed to answer the needs of the Indian child, and that these needs will best be met, as our unique American system of educational control has proved repeatedly, by community schools under local boards of education. As one superintendent puts it:

"The creation of public schools in local communities on the reservation provided the opportunity for the people to share in the creation of programs and to display personal and community pride in the accomplishments of Navajo students. Particularly those accomplishments in the extra curricular activities such as athletics, music and arts and crafts where individual and team performance is readily identified with individual pupils. Since World War II, the Navajo serviceman returning to the reservation following military service has exerted considerable influence on the educational philosophy of the Navajo people. To the ex-serviceman, the need is apparent for education of all Navajo youth. Also obvious is the need for Indian children on the reservation to increase contacts with the non-Indian on or around the reservation in order to better understand the socio-economic system in which he must eventually work and/or live. Public schools, completely integrated, provided the first opportunity for the Navajo student to move in this direction."

Several problems exist which are hampering the efforts of the public school. These are both jurisdictional problems and financial problems. The jurisdictional problems concern the right to educate the Indian child.

The BIA schools and the public schools are beginning to compete for the Indian child. Public school bus routes pass BIA schools and large BIA schools are now being built close to large population centers within our districts. These large BIA schools—such as Toyei, Ft. Wingate, and Chuskai—are slow in reaching enrollment capacity while the public schools are struggling along using portable classrooms because of time lags deriving from the inadequate provisions of PL 815. Further, as the large schools are concentrated, the public schools have been requested to take over small, uneconomical BIA schools. Although expenditure comparisons between the public schools and the BIA are not available, we invite comparison by enclosing the financial structures of our districts in an appendix to this report.

Another sizable problem area is the inadequate federal financing for the public schools. The public schools have obtained federal assistance through the federal impact laws, PL 815 and PL 874, which were not specifically designed for Indian

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[3] Growth of Johnson-O'Malley Pupils in New Mexico:

| Year | Enrollment | A.D.A. |
|---|---|---|
| 1952-53 | 1,347 | 1,186 |
| 1953-54 | 1,746 | 1,491 |
| 1954-55 | 2,141 | 1,837 |
| 1955-56 | 2,260 | 1,923 |
| 1956-57 | 3,669 | 3,195 |
| 1957-58 | 4,407 | 3,977 |
| 1958-59 | 5,264 | 4,673 |
| 1959-60 | 6,240 | 5,738 |
| 1960-61 | 7,148 | 6,687 |
| 1961-62 | 7,380 | 6,771 |
| 1962-63 | 8,166 | 7,378 |
| 1963-64 | 8,706 | 7,942 |
| 1964-65 | 9,154 | 8,330 |
| 1965-66 | 9,774 | 8,849 |
| 1966-67 | 10,687 | 9,704 |

education. Rightly so, where as much as 96 percent of the land within a district may be federal, these laws stand in lieu of local taxation and have enabled public schools to build and operate schools for Indian children. With the supplemental assistance of the Johnson O'Malley Act, we have partially coped with the influx of Indian students. With the advent of other federal aid programs, which are largely categorical in nature, the public schools have been able to add special programs such as kindergarten, language centers, and other projects of a special nature too numerous to mention. Worthwhile as these programs are, they are beginning to endanger the general federal aid laws so vital to the basic education of the Indian child. Also detrimental to us have been the large special appropriations which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has had to construct and operate these large facilities.

At the same time, state legislatures, desperate in their search for additional finances, are threatening the existence of PL 874 and Johnson O'Malley. Both Arizona and New Mexico are contemplating financial foundation programs which take credit for these federal funds before state funds are distributed.

The public schools must have immediate relief from these dangers. As the agencies of education which are educating the largest number of Indian children in this three state area, we strongly urge the following measures:

A. At present PL 874 has been reduced by 20 percent for this fiscal year and 30 percent for the coming fiscal year. This legislation is vital to public school operation. We strongly urge the supplemental appropriation (Fulbright Amendment) be approved. In addition, it is imperative that the Aspinall Amendment to Section 2 concerning deductions for other federal payments be implemented.

B. PL 815 building funds are currently frozen by the U.S. Office of Education due to presidential directives. These must be released and liberalized to allow public schools to keep pace with increased Indian enrollment.

C. Amendments must be written into PL 874 which will prevent states from taking credit for PL 874 in state distribution formulas. These deductions violate the intent of this law and seriously hamper the efforts of districts to meet the special needs of the Indian child.

The following long range measures must also be implemented:

A. The interest of the federal government to solve problems in Indian education must be redirected to give public schools a larger and a greater influence. At present, almost all influence lies with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Even the administration of the one specific Indian law to public schools, Johnson O'Malley, is directed through them. The Indian Education Divisions of the Education Department of Arizona and New Mexico are salaried by the BIA and subject to their approval. We feel that direct grants should be made from this act to the State Education Departments which would enable them to employ, strengthen, and direct the Indian Divisions solely oriented to public school needs.

B. National legislation must be enacted which will make direct allotments to public school districts for educating Indian children.

C. An in-depth study of the role of the public schools in Indian Education should be undertaken by the BIA, public school administrators, and State Departments of Education which will adequately insure the proper representation and financing of Indian education in public schools.

D. Every effort must be made to finance and expand road building on the reservations which will promote the continued expansion of public schools while allowing the children to live at home.

We respectfully submit this report for your consideration.

APP. 1. ARIZONA

## INCOME AND EXPENSE DATA FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF ARIZONA IN THE FOUR CORNERS AREA

| | Chinle | Ganado | Window Rock | Tuba City Elementary | Tuba City High School | Kayenta Elementary | Monument Valley High School | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total enrollment (1966-67 ADA) | 1,545.626 | 1,034.433 | 1,710.500 | 1,029.601 | 301.677 | 569.196 | 164.966 | 6,355.999 |
| Number of Indians enrolled | 1,369.000 | 916.000 | 1,498.000 | 893.000 | 245.000 | 465.000 | 123.000 | 5,509.000 |
| Expenditures: | | | | | | | | |
| Operating | $1,361,557.16 | $933,120.65 | $1,728,505.76 | $719,569.78 | $327,505.86 | $468,522.14 | $203,489.71 | $5,742,271.06 |
| Capital outlay | 77,594.62 | 64,608.32 | 71,686.26 | 32,385.73 | 32,865.77 | 28,754.61 | 6,520.51 | 314,415.82 |
| Public Law 89-10 | 233,815.25 | 146,737.36 | 389,162.55 | 111,502.71 | 41,158.35 | 62,979.41 | 19,508.80 | 1,004,864.43 |
| Debt service | | | 51,284.07 | | | | | 51,284.07 |
| Receipts: | | | | | | | | |
| Public Law 874 | 358,829.00 | 229,079.00 | 381,368.00 | 175,140.00 | 91,115.00 | 124,215.00 | 54,873.00 | 1,414,619.00 |
| Johnson-O'Malley | 382,496.05 | 239,641.40 | 442,590.51 | 165,243.23 | 111,280.51 | 114,762.36 | 41,909.71 | 1,497,923.77 |
| Public Law 89-10 | 214,569.52 | 152,649.00 | 382,058.80 | 133,572.00 | 43,669.00 | 62,265.00 | 18,186.00 | 1,006,969.32 |
| Public Law 815 | | | | | | | | |
| Per pupil cost (all funds) | 962.92 | 964.52 | 1,010.53 | 698.88 | 1,085.62 | 823.13 | 1,233.53 | 6,779.13 |
| Per pupil cost without Public Law 89-10 | 811.65 | 822.66 | 783.01 | 590.59 | 949.19 | 712.48 | 1,115.27 | 5,784.85 |

## APPENDIX IIA. NEW MEXICO

### *Gallup-McKinley County Schools, Gallup, N. Mex.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Enrollment, 1966–67 (ADA) | 9. 289 |
| 2. Total Indian enrollment | 5, 800 |
| 3. Percent of Indian to total enrollment | 62. 4 |
| 4. Johnson O'Malley enrollment | 3, 347 |

5. District Budget Data, 1966–67:

A. Expenditures:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Current operating | $6, 661, 313 |
| 2. Capital outlay | 179, 169 |
| Total current | 6, 840, 482 |
| 3. Bond building | 1, 173, 470 |
| 4. Debt service | 531, 324 |
| 5. Public Law 815 | 1, 877, 803 |
| Grand total | 10, 423, 079 |

B. Receipts:

| | Amount | Percent | Average |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Public Law 874 | $1, 061, 804 | 15. 5 | 10. 2 |
| 2. Johnson-O'Malley | 156, 239 | 2. 3 | 1. 5 |
| 3. BIA dormitory | 292, 321 | 4. 3 | 2. 8 |
| 4. Title 1 ESEA | 586, 607 | 8. 5 | 5. 6 |
| 5. Public Law 815 | 3, 083, 407 | 45. 1 | 29. 6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 6. Per pupil cost, 1966–67, all funds | $1, 122. 08 |
| 7. Per pupil cost, 1966–67, current operating | [1] 736. 41 |
| 8. Per pupil cost, 1966–67, Public Law 874 | 114. 30 |
| 9. Per pupil cost, 1966–67, Johnson O'Malley | 46. 68 |
| 10. Per pupil cost, 1966–67, Public Law 815 | 331. 90 |
| 11. Per pupil cost, 1966–67, title I | 63. 15 |

[1] Includes title I.

## APPENDIX IIB. NEW MEXICO

### *Central consolidated schools, district 22, Kirtland, N. Mex.*

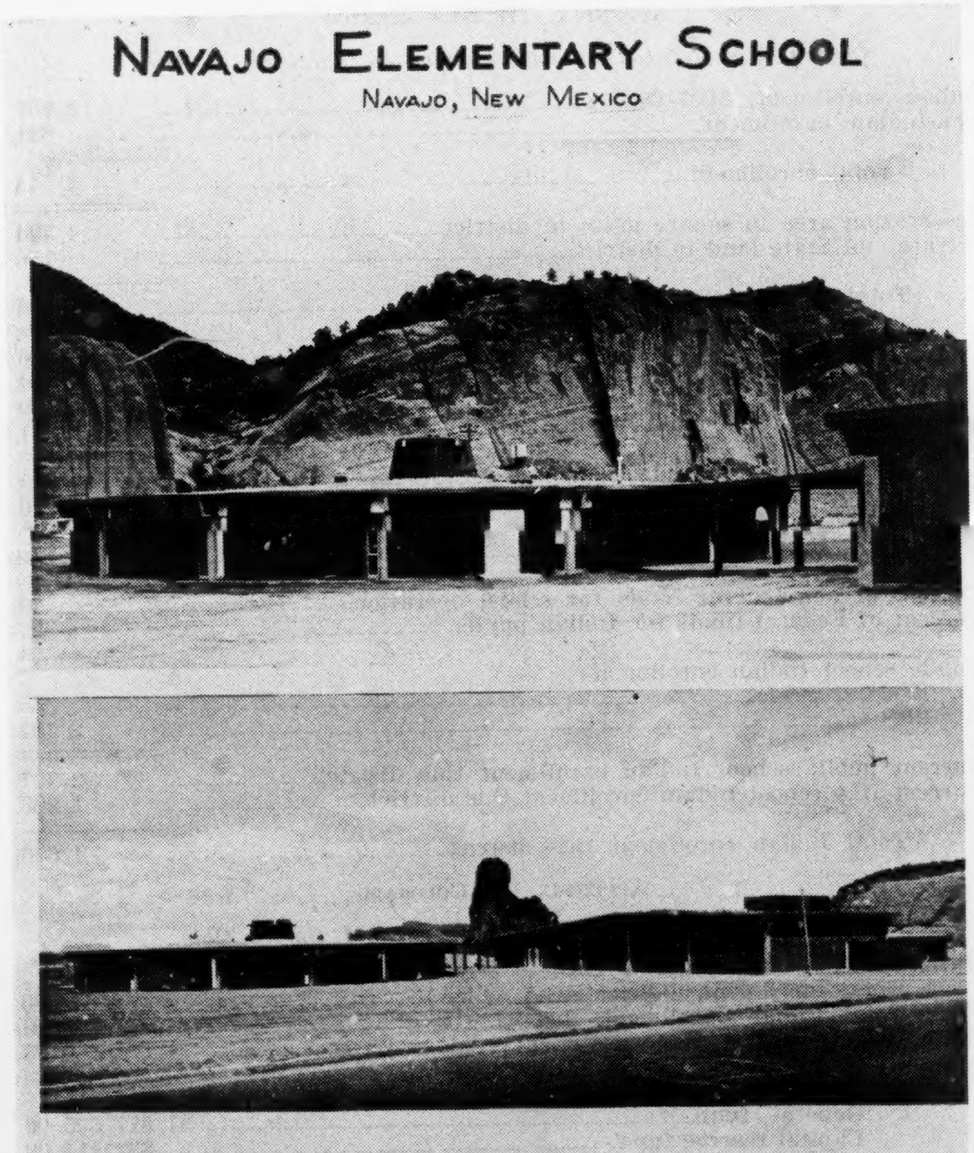
| | |
|---|---|
| Indian enrollment, 1967–68 | 2,707 |
| Non-Indian enrollment | 841 |
| Total enrollment | 3,548 |
| Reservation area in square miles in district | 4,704 |
| Private and State land in district | 196 |
| Total square miles in school district | 4,900 |
| Percent of Federal land in district | 96 |
| Percent of non-Federal land in district | 4 |
| Percent of Indian pupils in district | 69 |
| Percent of non-Indian pupils in district | 31 |
| Non-Federal funds for budget purposes | $1,708,729 |
| Federal funds for Indian pupils for budget purposes | 628,220 |
| Total operational budget | 2,336,949 |
| Percent of non-Federal funds for school operation | 73 |
| Percent of Federal funds for Indian pupils | 27 |
| Public school Indian enrollment: | |
| 1952 | 35 |
| 1968 | 2,707 |
| Current public school Indian enrollment this district | 2,707 |
| Current BIA school Indian enrollment this district | 1,969 |
| Total Indian enrollment this district | 4,676 |

## APPENDIX III. COLORADO

### *Montezuma-Cortez School District RE–1, Cortez, Colo.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Statistical data, 1966–67 school year: | |
| 1. Total enrollment, district RE–1 (ADA) | 2,617.80 |
| 2. Total Indian enrollment, district RE–1 | 260.00 |
| 3. Percent total Indian enrollment | 9.93 |
| 4. District budget data, 1966–1967: | |
| General fund | $1,577,395.00 |
| Capital reserve fund | $32,114.00 |
| Bond and interest funds (total) | $185,131.00 |
| Total | $1,794,640.00 |
| Receipts: | |
| Public Law 874 | $110,037.00 |
| Percent of Budget | 6.00 |
| Johnson O'Malley | $25,997.00 |
| Percent of Budget | 1.40 |
| Public Law 815 | 0 |
| Percent of budget | 0 |
| Title I, ESEA | $95,715.50 |
| Percent of budget | 5.00 |
| Title II, ESEA | $10,476.58 |
| Percent of budget | .50 |
| Title III, NDEA | $2,834.87 |
| Percent of budget | .15 |
| Total Federal funds | $245,060.95 |
| Percent of budget | 13.65 |
| 5. Per pupil cost, 1966–67, all funds | $685.55 |
| 6. Per pupil cost, 1966–67, general operating | $633.58 |

NOTE.—District RE–1 operates only grades 1–12, but anticipates adding kindergarten for all schools in 1968–69.



# NAVAJO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

NAVAJO, NEW MEXICO

THIS FACILITY WAS BUILT WITH LOCAL TAX MONEY FOR THE EDUCATION OF ALL CHILDREN INSIDE THE NAVAJO RESERVATION ADJACENT TO THE NEW SAWMILL

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## NAVAJO EDUCATION CONFERENCE, WINDOW ROCK, ARIZ., MARCH 30, 1968

### ADDRESS BY SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY, CHAIRMAN, U.S. SENATE, INDIAN EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE

"Ya-Ta-Hay"! (Greetings)

I am honored that you have invited me to participate in what is widely recognized as one of the most important annual events in the field of Indian education—the Navajo Education Conference.

It is a special privilege to be able to be a part of not only your conference but also the centennial celebration of the Navajo people—the largest Indian tribe in the United States and one of the most distinguished.

I would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Raymond Nakai, chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council, Mr. Allen Yazzi, chairman of the education committee and all members of the Navajo Tribe who invited me to speak this evening and I might add, had the patience and courtesy to extend the date several weeks. As you know, the Senate was voting on the civil rights legislation at the previously scheduled time for this conference. It was imperative that I be present to assist in the passage of a strong bill which would be of direct benefit to all minority groups in the country.

Since that original date I have declared my candidacy for the Presidency of the United States. This was a very difficult decision to make but a decision that I felt was imperative and one to which I am totally committed.

I regret that the demands of my campaign have made it necessary to cancel my visit to one of the outstanding schools in the country—the Rough Rock Demonstration School—as well as the opportunity to visit with many of you throughout the reservation. As soon as time permits I look forward to the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the Navajo people, visiting your schools, and discussing your problems and aspirations for the future.

It has been my privilege in recent months to serve as chairman of a special subcommittee which is charged with the responsibility of inquiring into the quality and effectiveness of educatonal programs for Indian children in our Nation.

Let me say at the outset that my personal observations of the problems of Indian education have been greatly aided by my close association in the subcommittee with its senior minority member—Senator Paul Fannin of Arizona. Senator Fannin has long been interested in the problems of the American Indian both as a Governor of Arizona and as U.S. Senator and has worked diligently to find new solutions to those problems. I find myself in wholehearted concurrence with the observations he has just put before you.

Based on my experiences and observations gathered from the field work and hearings of the subcommittee I have become increasingly convinced that the top priority for improving Indian education lies in a bold new statement of policy coupled with the commitment and resources necessary to carry it out. I recently stated what I felt our policy should be when I testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 11. This resolution recommends a comprehensive "new national Indian policy," and a complete repudiation of the ill-conceived and harmful termination policy we have inherited from the 1950's. What should be the new policy for Indian education?

I am convinced that the Federal Government has a moral and legal commitment to provide not just an educational program, not just an average educational program, but an educational program unsurpassed in its excellance and effectiveness for as many Indian children as can be properly considered within the Federal Government's direct or indirect responsibility. Dr. Carl Marburger, recently the Assistant Commissioner of Education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, stated the goal well during his brief period of service. The BIA should be running an educational system second to none—or as he put it—exemplary in the fullest sense of the word. We are a long way from accomplishing this goal, but I fully agree with his stated objective.

I would go even further than this and say that if our present practice of moving Indian children into public school districts as rapidly as possible is to continue, then the Federal Government should bear a substantially larger burden than it presently assumes for seeing that the public school programs are adequately staffed and financed to permit effective and exemplary educational programs. I am concerned that too often in the past, out of ideological fervor for "State responsibility," out of a concern for lowering Federal expenditures and demanding "rapid assimilation whatever the cost," we have forgotten or simply overlooked the fate of the Indian child. This is not to suggest that I am opposed to the concepts of integrated education and State responsibility. It does suggest that the real test is educational performance and the ultimate responsibility for historical, legal, and moral reasons lies with the Federal Government. I do not think we have lived up to that responsibility nor have we provided viable options to Indian parents and children.

What does this policy imply in terms of programs?

1. A major effort to develop more effective preservice and inservice training for teachers and administrators.

2. Substantial upgrading of teacher recruitment practices—for example I was distressed to find out that the BIA has been generally unsuccessful in attracting Peace Corps returnees to BIA teaching positions.

3. The development of model environments and incentives for attracting and holding outstanding teachers and administrators in BIA schools. The teacher turnover rate is a very serious problem in schools serving Indian children and Federal bureaucracy is at its worst in undermining initiative, imagination, candor, and professionalism. The fundamental importance of attracting and holding outstanding teachers and administrators throughout the Federal school system leads me to recommend that a major study be undertaken by leading experts to thoroughly study the present system and recommend how this goal can be accomplished.

4. The whole area of pupil personnel services has been greatly neglected by schools serving Indian children due to a lack of adequate funding. Yet this is an area of great need. There must be a very substantial expansion of personnel and programs in the areas of special education, guidance and counseling, and psychological services.

5. Model prevocational and vocational training programs should be developed at the secondary and postsecondary levels, and there should be innovative programs demanding the best of students and aiming at the job market of the future, not the past.

6. Major upgrading of skills and competence in the teaching of English as a second language and bilingual educational programs. More attention should also be given to the other side of the coin—teaching Navajo as a second language to school personnel on the Navajo reservation. I understand that a Mr. Gossen of Northern Arizona University has recently published a very fine self-instructional text entitled "Navajo Made Easier". It would seem to me that this or something comparable would be a must for all school personnel on the reservation.

7. A general strengthening and upgrading of all academic programs utilizing the best educational techniques and innovations available—for example—behavioral programing, individualized instruc-

tion, team teaching, nongrading, and all of the new curriculum materials.

8. A substantial investment should be made in sophisticated research and development activities serving a number of experimental programs and schools. Part of this can best be done by contracting with outside agencies, but it is essential for Indian schools to be thoroughly self-critical, self-evolving institutions. This requires local expertise with widespread participation.

9. Major efforts should be made to involve Indian adults and communities in the work of and control over the schools. There is a great danger here that this can too easily be done on a token or patronizing basis. Rough Rock School has proven its point in this regard and should serve as a model for all Indian schools to study and emulate.

10. Of singular importance, an all out effort is needed to give proper recognition to the Indian child's cultural background and skills in the curriculum of the schools.

These constitute a few of the program implications that follow from a new statement of policy. I am certain that all of you in the audience could add additional recommendations—but of course, this is exactly what is needed. No one knows better the inadequacies of the present system than the dedicated personnel who are frustrated by it. But we too seldom ask for their ideas or listen when they are given.

None of these suggestions I have made are particularly new or original. I am sure that many of them have been voiced before. But, far too often in the past our rhetoric has failed to materialize; high sounding words have masked unpleasant realities; lack of nerve imagination, and resources has undermined our vision, and new programs have withered before fruition because of lack of adequate funding.

I am not suggesting that considerable progress has not been made in providing better schools and educational programs for Indian children. I know of no group in the United States that has fought harder or longer, or with greater tenacity and forbearance for strong and effective educational programs for their children than the Navajo people. I applaud your efforts and your accomplishments. Where else can one find a Rough Rock Demontration School or a stronger tribal commitment to higher education for their youth. Given the limitations on tribal income, the Navajo tribal scholarship program is one of the finest in the country. I would also support and encourage your efforts to extend the exciting innovations of the Rough Rock School to the high school level and beyond that to your vision of a Navajo community college. These are exactly the kinds of initiative and imagination that a new Indian education policy calls for.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is also to be commended for its substantial efforts to develop effective "Teaching English As a Second Language" program across the Navajo Reservation. Also, the increasing emphasis being placed on upgrading in-service training of professional personnel and the development of new social studies materials which will permit the Navajo children to understand and appreciate their own culture, history, tribal government, and contemporary reservation problems. These are indeed important steps in the right direction—but I am sure that we would all agree that we are just beginning to think about quality in Indian education and exemplary is still just a word, not a reality. And this is understandable when we remember that as late as 1950 nearly 60 percent of

Navajo school-age children were out of school—and even today, I am told, there are several thousand children who are not attending school, or have no school to attend. Equally discouraging is the fact that almost 60 percent of all Navajo scholarship students never survive their first year of college. The problem has always been one of quantity, of catching up, of insufficient funds and long-neglected needs. Can we look forward to the day when every school serving Navajo children is a model school like Rough Rock where people from around the world will come to visit and learn? Is that too much to ask? I think not.

Having discussed the need for a bold new policy, some of its program implications, and some of the important first steps that have been taken on the Navajo Reservation, I would like to now consider two problem areas that I consider to be major stumbling blocks to the accomplishment of these goals.

The first area of concern has to do with the problems associated with boarding schools. There has been considerable misunderstanding or misinformation about my concern and the concern of the subcommittee in this matter. This is indeed unfortunate. It is far too important a problem to be misunderstood or cast aside. Let me return to the record of our initial hearings in Washington to clarify my concern. Dr. Dan O'Connell, a psychiatrist from Harvard University, who has spent a considerable amount of time investigating the problems of Indian boarding schools, established several important points in his testimony—

1. There are approximately 9,000 Indian children 9 years of age and under in boarding schools.
2. That almost 8,000 of these children are Navajo children.
3. That to a large extent this is due to a lack of roads on the reservation.
4. That Navajo parents do not necessarily oppose boarding schools for their children but really have no choice when they do feel the schools are unsatisfactory.
5. That there is almost universal agreement in the field of developmental psychology that early separation of a child from the family unit is a destructive influence.
6. That family relationships are more complex and more important to an Indian child than in white society, and crucial to his development of a sense of identity. Thus separation from the family is potentially even more traumatic and emotionally destructive.
7. That boarding schools as they presently exist are totally inadequate as a substitute for parents and family—and even with very substantial improvements can never be an adequate substitute for a home and family.

The painful reality of this problem was brought forcefully to my attention by a very perceptive letter which I received from a teacher in one of the large boarding schools for elementary age Navajo children. I would like to quote at some length from the letter. It states that the boarding school is undoubtedly less expensive and more readily controlled than a large number of small day schools, and offers the students advantages such as a good diet and health and sanitation facilities—however the problems it creates are vast, widely recognized, often bemoaned, but little has been done to eliminate them. The letter points out that most children in BIA boarding schools only see their parents on occasional weekends, if that often. At these times parents are "allowed to check out their children—if the child's conduct in school warrants it." If the child has been a "problem"—for example has run away—parents are not allowed to take him until he has "learned his lesson." The letter points to an example where two young boys froze to death while running away from a boarding school trying to get to their home—50 miles away.

What is the result when children are taken away from their homes for 9 months a year, from age 6 onward? The letter suggests family ties are severely strained and often dissolved—even brothers and sisters in the same boarding school rarely get to see each other, due to dormitory, class, and dining hall arrangements. The children become alienated from their relatives, their culture, and much-admired traditional Navajo skills (legends, sandpaintings, rug weaving) and ultimately alienated from themselves.

The letter goes on to point out that a number of factors militate against ameliorating the trauma and loneliness—for example the size and impersonality of the school itself—some as large as 1,200 elementary children in one institution—and the lack of overnight guest facilities for parents who would like to visit their children—and in some instances lack of any encouragement on the part of the school for parental visitation.

The letter pinpoints the dormitory guidance program as the most serious deficiency in the whole boarding school system "for these people are in charge of the children 16 hours a day, 7 days a week." Yet they are understaffed, underprogramed, undersupervised, and overextended. Each dormitory has only one teacher, and it is extremely difficult to find suitable personnel for these crucial demanding positions. Yet even the finest teacher could accomplish little, when they are responsible for 150 children. There is usually an aide on duty with the teacher but with trying to mend clothes, supply linens, check roll, keep order, fill out forms, prepare children for meals, bathing, school work, and bed there is little time to do more than keep the walls from being pulled down. How could this possibly take the place of the personal attention, affection, and training that the children would have received at home?

Perhaps the most poignant statement of all is the author's personal reaction to the children—they grasp most hungrily at any attention shown them; they are starved for affection—"unless you have lived with them over a period of time, and see the loneliness and the monotony of the daily routine, you cannot appreciate the tragedy of it all!

"Because of the shortage of personnel there is a pronounced tendency to herd rather than to guide. The boys and girls are yelled at, bossed around, chased here and there, told and untold, until it is almost impossible for them to do anything on their own initiative—except of course run away."

It should be pointed out that the author of the letter is not blaming anyone; in fact, he is extremely sympathetic to the plight of the dormitory personnel. In addition, the letter suggests a number of sensible improvements and alternatives. I have been informed by our subcommittee staff that the letter has been read by other teachers in similar boarding schools on the reservation who have found it to be equally perceptive and true in terms of their experiences. I doubt if there is anyone in this room who would consider the boarding school for young children a satisfactory situation.

The BIA has brought to our attention that about 90 percent of the children in these boarding schools live within a distance of 25 miles or less from the school. If the problem is lack of roads, then we should build the roads; if roads are not feasible because of rugged terrain, then we should develop communities around schools. Again, I would suggest that there is much to be learned from the Rough Rock School and applied throughout the reservation. Why not Indian parents living in every dormitory? Why not adult education activities in every school? Why not Indian parents enriching the curriculum with Navajo crafts and cultural activities? Why not community development dimensions and programs for every school? Why not guest facilities for Indian parents? Or to go one step further, why not cottage dormitories for 30 children plus an apartment for an Indian family?

My personal feeling is that the best answer lies in providing the necessary roads coupled with integrated planning for community development which will permit day schools to operate successfully. But meanwhile much can be done and should be done to improve the large boarding schools.

Another area of subcommittee concern is the off reservation boarding school where many Navajo students are placed because of social, family, or personal problems; or often because a public school could not reach them or meet their special needs. The names are familiar to all of you:

Chemowa Indian School, Oregon, 1880.
Chilocco Indian School, Oklahoma, 1884.
Albuquerque Indian School, New Mexico, 1886.
Stewart Indian School, Nevada, 1890.

And there are others. These schools were originally set up to turn Indian boys and girls into white people—quickly—often brutally—they rarely succeeded in their purpose but they were clearly successful in doing great damage to the children. Today these same schools serve a different purpose but in too many instances damage is still being done.

Two highly competent witnesses testified in our initial hearings in Washington that a high percentage of the students enter these schools with serious problems, but that virtually nothing is done to cope with the problems let alone correct them. In many instances the problems get worse rather than better. As one witness put it these schools are "dumping grounds" for problem children and serve largely a custodial function. This is clearly a very unsatisfactory situation that demands substantial improvement. I can't believe that Indian parents would approve of such schools if they were aware of these problems, or if they were consulted, or had a choice.

Underlying the problems of both boarding school situations lies a truth fundamental to the success of the whole cultural transaction we call Indian education. There was a very important but generally unnoticed finding buried in the massive Equal Education Opportunity Study published in 1966. The study found that Indian students more than any other minority group believe themselves to be "below average" in intelligence and by the time they reach the 12th grade have the poorest self-concept of any group tested. The long-range effect of this educational failure is dramatically pointed out in a research project conducted by the University of Arizona. The study found that on one large Indian reservation in Arizona "the most unstable and undependable young Indian men in the job market were those who could use English well, those who have extended exposure to schools and vocational programs, and those who comprehend the meaning of Anglo values."

Dr. John Bryde, and Dr. Bernard Spikla in their research studies of Sioux Indian adolescents, go behind the statistics to point out the severe clash of cultural value systems and how this is directly related to poor academic performance, emotional instability, and the crossover phenomena. What can we conclude from these and other research findings. It has been best summarized by Dr. William Kelly of the University of Arizona. He states:

> The problem is biculturalism and neither the Indians nor Federal agencies, nor anyone else really, understands the problem.

This would appear to be the heart of the matter if we are truly concerned with effective educational programs. It will take a much greater effort on the part of all of us, a much greater depth of understanding, if we are to succeed.

The majority of American Indians are reaching for their own version of American life and this very definitely does not include the repudiation of their Indian heritage and it does not include assimilation. The great challenge of Indian education is to find the way to help each Indian student find his own version of American life that will make it possible for him to meet the challenges and changes of life with versatility and grace. This is a grand and exciting and terribly important challenge—I wish you the best in your endeavors.

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE,
INDIAN HEALTH AREA OFFICE,
*Phoenix, Ariz., February 23, 1968.*

MR. JOHN L. GRAY,
*Professional Staff Member, Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. GRAY: It was indeed a pleasure to meet you, albeit for such a brief time, here in Phoenix at the Tribal Leaders Health Conference last week. It certainly came as a great shot in the arm for me to know that the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education views favorably a mental health approach to the problems so many of our Indian citizens are facing.

As you may know, the position of Mental Health Program Officer for Phoenix Area of the Division of Indian Health is still in its infancy. I was appointed as the first member of the team in September, following my residency in Psychiatry. So, as you might guess, I'm still very much in the process of getting my feet wet with the problems, even though I'm not quite dry behind the ears from my own training. Be that as it may, this is proving to be one of the most challenging experiences of my life.

As of January I have completed my first tour of the 11 service units and reservations and most of the BIA schools covered by the Phoenix Area Office. After reviewing the Mental Health situations in these various places, discussing the problems with Hospital and Field Health staff and Tribal Health officials, I have come to the tentative conclusion that the needs and problems of each unit are quite unique. True, there are certain common themes such as problems related to alcohol and family disintegration, poverty and social deprivation. However, there are reservations where suicide and impulse disorders are far more common than on other reservations. The cultural factors play a major role in mental health programing.

Therefore, I am inclined not to develop an area-wide mental health program, but to encourage the development of mental health programing at the Reservation level, with technical assistance from an Area multidisciplined Mental Health team.

I am committed to the concept of Indian Involvement and I am trying to lay the groundwork at the grass roots level for such a development to emerge. Here is a situation where the Indian needs to guide and advise me as to planning for his own improved mental health. The mental health team can provide the technical assistance and coordination. It is also my belief that there are right now on reservation a handful of sensitive, psychologically minded, insightful Indian people who could be trained in Mental Health concepts who could be the right arm of a professional Mental Health team at the grass roots level. They could be taught to recognize early signs of emotional pathology and to make appropriate referrals, to utilize the principle of acute crises intervention in dealing with disturbed individuals and their families, to provide supportive therapy under supervision to appropriate disturbed individuals, to provide leadership or support to community-based programs on alcoholism and family disintegration.

The problems the Indians are facing are immense, as you are well aware. But I have a strong belief in the integrity of Indian people, if we can only take carefully planned steps to encourage their own participation in their own planning for the future.

By July 1968 I hope to add a psychiatric social worker, psychologist and mental health nurse to the Area team and, sometime later, an anthropologist. Also in the Area plans is a proposal for Indian Mental Health workers as I described above. This has not been approved and budgeted at headquarters as yet, but I'm keeping my fingers crossed. If I can't get these positions funded I'll try to get them through other means. I think the tribes may be willing to sponsor such workers on certain reservations, but this would take time and funds which most do not have.

Concerning Indian education, let me say first that there are persons here far more knowledgeable than I am on the subject, since I am really a newcomer to the Public Health Service, and I have requested some of the persons to submit to you their ideas in writing. However, I would like to share some general impressions.

The whole concept of Indian Boarding Schools and their effect has been a highly controversial issue historically. My colleague, Dr. Bergman in Window Rock, has written a fascinating and, I believe, accurate appraisal of the situation of the Indian Boarding School. His report was presented at the Conference of the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health, May 15–16, 1967, in Silver Spring, Maryland. I don't think I could formulate the problem any better.

The ultimate fate of the boarding school will probably hang in the balance for some years to come. In the meantime the situation existing today is critical. The boarding school can no longer be run under the pretense that one is providing an educational opportunity to the reservation Indian where no other facility exists. It is quite clear we are dealing with a group of Indian children who have been referred from a Reservation to a boarding school because of one of a number of social and psychological problems. True, there is a certain percentage of students who are coming to boarding schools primarily because there are no educational secondary schools available on Reservation—but this number is diminishing every year. At the Phoenix Indian School alone, for example, out of an enrollment of approximately 1,000 students, over 200 come from broken homes. Five hundred and eighty students are considered academically retarded. There are at least 60 students enrolled where there exists a serious family drinking problem. From September to December of 1967 there were 16 reported cases of serious glue sniffing. The school is often pressured into accepting students with a history of juvenile delinquency and overt emotional disturbance.

With this great change in the profile of the student body there has *not* been a concomitant change in staffing skilled workers or training existing personnel to cope with these problems.

The situation has reached crisis proportions. In the case of Phoenix Indian School the Administration and Public Health Service have joined forces in developing a Mental Health Steering Council of which I am a member. We are currently in the process of setting up the guidelines for an across-the-board re-evaluation of the educational, health and school environment, with positive steps to better meet the needs of the Indian students. There is great need for skilled, sensitive workers, especially in the schools to work with students, as well as professional mental health workers back on the reservation to potentiate the helping people at the community level. Enclosed is the first report of the Committee. At present we are working on the Mental Health In-Service Education program for the Phoenix Indian School and Public Health Service staff working with students.

The other BIA boarding schools in the Phoenix Area have very similar problems. I have submitted a proposal to headquarters for funding of a Mental Health team at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California. I feel they are ready for the team, and there are presently highly qualified individuals in the area available to fill the positions called for on the Mental Health team. If Public Health Service or BIA cannot fund the team I will try other foundations or agencies as necessary.

I am eagerly looking forward to the Senate Subcommittee report on Indian Education and for their knowledgeable guidance as to future planning in areas of Indian education.

If there are specific issues you or the committee desire to be clarified or expanded, please let me know. If I cannot adequately provide the necessary information I will find the source who does.

Thank you for this opportunity to share some of my early impressions and plans with you.

Most sincerely,

ANTHONY E. ELITE, M.D.,
*Mental Health Program Officer.*

## REPORT OF AD HOC JOINT SUB-COMMITTEE ON MENTAL HEALTH

Members: N. Kalajan, Chr., A. Castiglia, K. Calloway, J. Chapman, A. Elite, M.D., B. Friedman, R. Orilla, C. MacMillan.

A series of situations in the Phoenix Indian School indicated a growing Mental Health problem among the students. Concommitant with this, a need for improved joint working relationship between the Phoenix Indian School and Public Health Service was apparent. A letter from James Kilgore, M.D., contract Psychiatrist, indicating some solutions to the problems, stimulated a meeting of representatives of the two agencies on Jan. 22, 1968. The above committee was appointed by Superintendent Wallace with the approval of Mr. Flood, as a result of this meeting.

The Ad Hoc committee met three times—January 29th, Feb. 5th and Feb. 12th. The meeting discussions centered largely around identifying the mental health problems in the school, categorizing them, and recommending priorities for action.

The committee also felt that an authoritative statement on School Mental Health could provide a frame of reference for all concerned, and may help to give needed direction in this significant effort. The following ideas are suggested as baselines for philosophy:

From "School Health Education," Third Edition, by Delbert Oberteuffer, Ph. D., page 360:

### "A PSYCHOLOGICALLY 'HEALTHY' ENVIRONMENT

"The emotional health of pupils is affected by every aspect of their school system, including the general philosophy of the school, preparation of the curriculums, selection and appointments of teachers, and procedures related to supervision, discipline, promotion, and grade placement. A child-centered curriculum in which the native interests and needs of learners are guiding factors in determining content is more likely to be productive of well-adjusted children than one in which the content is determined by 'college boards' or other extraneous standards. A school in which the students feel at home, as if they were a part of it rather than merely forced to attend classes in the building, one in which there is mutual respect and a friendly attitude between staff and students, has this healthy atmosphere. The system of discipline, of rules and regulations governing student conduct, must be eminently fair and intelligent, and its formation participated in by students, if possible."

From "Mental Health in Schools," prepared jointly by the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, the Association of State and Territorial Mental Health Authorities, and the Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C., 1966:

"Mental Health practices and procedures should be an integral part of the current school health and educational programs. The school should examine in depth, its internal policies, communications, and personnel practices—and their impact on the mental health aspects of the health and educational programs. Because schools influence mental health either adversely or constructively, it is urgent that they define their role in bringing mental health concepts and services into the health and educational programs. The universality of the school experience, its duration, and its importance to children and youth require that the mental health implications of the school health and educational processes be examined carefully."

### IDENTIFICATION OF NEEDS

*Appraisal*

The need to reappraise the curriculum for students with special problems; to have a more individualized approach, not necessarily with the goal of a diploma, but more in keeping with the students' intrests, abilities and potential for growth.

Need to reappraise the dormitory program with regard to objectives, desired outcomes and propcsed ways to achieve them.

Need to retool our educational approach, to better meet the needs of the Indian students; to structure new approaches along with existing ones in working with teachers, staff and students to enable the school to do a better job for students.

Need to appraise the total school health program, with particular emphasis on implications for mental health education and services.

*Inservice education*

Need to help school and PHS staffs to understand the meaning of the difficult situations that arise so that more satisfying action can be taken in regard to them.

Need for all staffs to understand the normal growth and development as well as the problems of adolescents.

Need to provide staff with understanding of how the mind works and why, especially with regard to adolescents.

Need to provide staff with understanding of the tribal cultural differences as represented in the student population.

Need for staff to study and understand the relationship of cultural background factors to students' attitudes toward discipline.

Need to explore and understand the specific problems of students, such as drinking, indifference to educational objectives, to school rules, etc.

*Staff expansion*

Need for full-time school Social Service Worker.

Need for additional academic faculty skilled in special education; the need is indicated by the many factors demanding intensive work with students, such as academic retardation, social problems, etc. In general, measurement of teacher-pupil ratio should not be made by the same standards used in regular high school situations.

Need for additional professionally trained counsellors in the Guidance Department.

Need for dormitory personnel as may be indicated by a reappraisal of th dormitory program.

*Health services*

Need to identify, define and improve health services to students.

Need to improve intra and interagency communications relating to health services.

Need to identify students with emotional problems and refer them to a Mental Health Team for evaluation.

Need to explore a different type of staffing in the school Clinic, for early detection of emotional and psychiatric disturbances.

*Miscellaneous*

Need for organization of a school health steering council.

Need for student involvement in health programming and in health problem solving—(possibly indicating the need for formation of a student health committee).

Need to appraise the problems posed by off-reservation Boarding School attendance as they may relate to the mental health of students.

### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRIORITY ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

In view of the many problems enumerated herein, and recognizing the lack of feasibility of approaching all of them at once, the committee members suggest the following programs for action now: (In order of priority:)

1. Organize a school health steering council.

2. Develop plans for and implement, a Mental Health In-Service Education program for all PIS and PHS staff having to do with students.

3. Employ a full-time School Mental Health Team.

4. Plan and implement a Pilot Program for a selected, limited number of students with emotional problems.

Special Project: Mental Health Team for Sherman Institute.

The mental health problems facing the Indian Bording Schools are obvious. Psychological disabilities have been well documented by Paxton IQ studies. Sociological disabilities which include family disruption compounded by boarding school life; language barriers, culture conflicts, and color handicaps are major problem areas barely handled in any meaningful way by the School staff. Educatonal and vocational disabilities likewise characterize a large portion of the student body.

The results of these problem areas are ineffective education, high dropout rate, behavioral and psychiatric disorders and vocational failures.

Because of Sherman's unique location and various community and university resources and because of the positive staff and administrative attitudes to explore new avenues and improve their techniques in dealing with these problems, I propose that a mental health team be created to undertake the following tasks:

1. More meaningful evaluation of the students.
2. Treatment when necessary.
3. Referral when necessary.
4. Coordination with referral agencies.
5. Coordination with home environment.
6. In-service training of Bureau of Indian Affairs and Public Health Service school staff.
7. Case conferences.
8. Research and development.

In order to fulfill the functions called for by these tasks, the following members of the mental health team are needed:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Consultant psychiatrist, and director, mental health program: (two-fifths time) $1,200 per month, 10 months | $12,000 |
| 2. Clinical psychologist, full time, salary $15,000 per month, 10 months | 15,000 |
| 3. Psychiatric social worker, full time, salary $1,100 per month, 12 months | 13,200 |
| 4. Administrative secretary (GS–6?) full time, salary, $675 per month | 8,100 |
| 5. Senior stenographic clerk (GS–4?), full time, salary $575 per month | 6,900 |
| Total salaries | 55,200 |
| Operations: furniture, approx. 20 to 25 percent of salaries; office supplies | 13,800 |
| Total | 69,000 |

# A Study of Southern Arizona School-Age Indian Children 1966-1967

By
William H. Kelly

ESTABLISHED 1885

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Bureau of Ethnic Research
Department of Anthropology
The University of Arizona
Tucson
1967

1066/(1067)

### PREPARED STATEMENT OF ALLEN D. YAZZIE, CHAIRMAN, NAVAJO TRIBAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE, FLAGSTAFF, ARIZ.

I would like to preface my remarks to this Sub-Committee with an expression of appreciation for the interest of its members in American Indians and their education. For a number of years I have served as Chairman of the Education Committee of the Navajo Tribal Council and I have long felt the need for such interest.

Today, I would like to briefly review the membership and functions of the Navajo Tribal Education Committee and some of the needs and accomplishments of Navajo Education as seen by this Committee.

As you might know, the Education Committee is appointed by the Navajo Tribal Council and its five members are all councilmen. The main job of the Education Committee is to serve as a connecting link between the Navajo Tribal Council and educational agencies serving Navajo youth. Also, the Education Committee conceives its job as providing leadership to the Federal, public, and parochial agencies in identifying the needs of Navajo youth.

The Education Committee appreciates the importance of this task when it considers that the median age of the reservation population is about 17 years. Thus, programs being provided this age group are of key importance.

In early 1966, the Navajo Area of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was formed. At this time, the Education Committee met with representatives of the New Navajo Area to consider the direction that Navajo Education should take. From the discussions that ensued, the Education Committee selected four goals for Navajo Education. These goals are:

1. To attack the unique problems of Indian students by the provision of unique programs suited to the needs of these students, such as the ESL program.
2. To seek maximum feasible involvement of parents and tribal leaders in the education program.
3. To develop a public information program which reflects progress made on a continuing basis.
4. To endeavor to assist in any way possible so that full utilization can be made of resources, including the Economic Opportunity Act, Public Law 89–10, and other similar programs which can benefit the Indian people.

The Committee feels that significant progress has been made in meeting these goals in the past two years.

First, and of key importance, the last two years have seen the involvement of parents and tribal leaders reach a new high. The Education Committee set aside special days during the school year for honoring parents and tribal leaders. Special programs are planned at the schools on these days to recognize parents and tribal leaders and show the importance of their involvement *every day*. During the past two years, with Education Committee guidance, 9 out of 10 Federal schools have formed boards of education which are playing an increasing role in school affairs.

Further, the Education Committee has encouraged all in Navajo Education to utilize public information media to tell the "Navajo Education Story" with particular reference to the accomplishments of the students. Each year, the Education Committee sponsors an annual youth conference where the accomplishments of the students are dramatized.

One means the Education Committee employs to effect coordination of agencies serving Navajo students is through an annual Navajo Education Conference of two or three days duration it sponsors. Through this, programs underway are reviewed and concerted action sought. The Committee also enlists the aid and support of all agencies in the "back to school" campaign it sponsors each fall to encourage *all* Navajo students to continue their education.

The Committee endeavors to get all agencies to develop relevant or appropriate instructional programs particularly suited to the needs of Navajo youth. Public Law 89–10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, has been of much assistance on this.

Through this Act, all public and Federal schools have, for the first time, been able to fund projects which give particular attention to the problems encountered by Navajo youth.

To illustrate the effects of this Act, Federal schools have been able to enlist the assistance of leading colleges and universities in planning and developing an English as-a-second-language program in all Federal classrooms on the reservation. This is of marked assistance to the 9 out of 10 Navajo students who come to school speaking only Navajo. Further, through a contract with a nearby university Navajo social studies units are being developed which will help the students appreciate their rich heritage and develop a positive concept of self which will lead to future accomplishments.

The Education Committee is pleased with the progress being made and hope that PL 89–10 funds continue to be available to schools serving Navajo students.

The Committee is also pleased with the demonstration school established two years ago at Rough Rock, Arizona. We feel that this school has been successful in identifying staff members needed at all schools for community and parental liaison work, and ways that the role of the Board of Education can be enlarged. We feel that the national attention given this school has been of much benefit to Navajo Education. This school is jointly sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Navajo Tribe.

Now to some needs——

The concern of this Senate Subcommittee, that it is necessary for students young and old to attend boarding schools, is shared. In fact, this has been a concern of long standing on the Navajo Reservation and with the Education Committee.

This concern has led to an attempt to utilize all possible opportunities for students to attend school on a day basis. Some progress has been made on this. In 1952, only 2,579 Navajo students attended public and Federal Day schools. In 1967, most of the over 17,000 Navajo students in public schools attended on a day basis, and about 1,000 students attended Federal schools on a day basis. This shows that some progress has been made.

In conclusion, this survey tends to reveal that students, now in boarding schools are generally from the most isolated and most sparsely populated areas of the reservation. In order to be serviceable, roads constructed would need to be hard surfaced so that it would be usable throughout the year. Road building efforts short of this in the past have been, at best, of temporary value.

At the same time, it is recognized that a main need of the reservation is the devolpment of economic opportunity. It is believed that the provision of economic opportunity would do much to break the poverty cycle and eliminate some of the main disadvantages Navajo people face when compared with the general population.

It is felt that a "key ingredient" in the making possible of economic opportunity is the development of a master road system for the reservation which could lead to industrialization and urbanization. Experience has shown that as paved roads are established, people tend to move up to the road making day school attendance possible.

In the meantime, through the parental involvement program, we are endeavoring to encourage parents to visit their children in boarding schools and take them home on weekends. We will continue in our efforts to do this.

Distinguished Committee Members, I guess the main need of all agencies serving Navajo students is more funds. Funds to hire more well-trained people and funds to extend the reach of the schools further into the community. Also, we need more higher education funds from all sources to make education beyond the high school a reality for the increasing number of Navajo high school graduates.

The Headstart Program which the Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity has carried on under an Office of Economic Opportunity grant has made a real difference in the lives of many Navajo students.

Finally, we appreciate your efforts on our behalf on kindergartens. This will help.

You have my thanks for the chance to appear before this Committee. I have some additional information I would like to submit for the record.

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NAVAJO SOCIAL ACTION GROUP,
*Fort Defiance, Ariz., March 28, 1968.*

Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
*Chairman,*
Senator PAUL J. FANNIN,
*Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education,*
*Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

GENTLEMEN: The current national interest in Indian Education is long overdue. It is the hope of the Navajo Social Action Group, a group of Navajos interested in affecting changes in the areas of Navajo health, education and welfare, that appropriate action will be carried out as a result of the hearings being held by the Senate Sub-Committee on Indian Education. The Navajo Social Action Group wishes to present the following problems and recommendations regarding Navajo Education.

Outstanding progress has been realized in Navajo Education during the last ten years. However, considering the recent national progress, education for Navajos grossly is inadequate.

*Boarding school problems*

Most Navajo children attend boarding schools located considerable distances from their homes. Boarding schools are perhaps the most undesirable way to educate normal Indian children, but boarding schools are presently the only community educational resource on the Navajo reservation. Boarding schools are necessary at the present time because: there are few all-weather roads to transport children to public schools, families live in rural areas far from population centers; there are few urban communities where housing and other services are available for those who wish to live close to public schools; there are few family social services and income maintenance programs for needy families who must care for small children; there is a lack of employment opportunities and there is a lack of special community services for children with special problems due to parental neglect, delinquency and mental retardation. Because these community services normally available to other people are inaccessible to the Navajo people, boarding schools are necessary for the education of our children. We are continually aware of the many negative experiences that affect young people in boarding schools. We trust that the Committee will deal with these problems further in its hearings.

*Recommendations to improve boarding schools*

1. Present Navajo Education Programs must be adequately funded, immediately if reasonable standards are to be developed.
2. There must be a reasonable ratio of child care staff to care for the children when they are not attending classes. A proper ratio would be one parental substitute or dorm attendant to fifteen children instead of the ratio of one to fifty which exists in many Indian boarding schools today.
3. All child care staff should receive special training on a continual in-service basis. Child care staff should also receive continuous professional supervision and consultation.
4. Special programs should be developed to identify the enormous variety of special problems experienced by boarding school children. Special treatment and education programs should be available to meet their needs.
5. Parents and the school staff must be allied and involved with the child's development through mutual interest in community meetings, continuous correspondence, and visits to the parents home by school staff familiar with the child's development.
6. Children must be dealt with on an individual basis in the educational and social aspects of their boarding school experience. They must be given the opportunity and help to express their desires, fears and successes.
7. Family social services should be expanded and improved so that families with special needs can be helped to provide adequate homes for boarding school children. Many children are immobilized by their anxieties over the welfare of their families at home.
8. Navajo culture and history should be an integral part of the children's boarding school curriculum. Navajos who are skilled in folklore and traditions should be a part of the school staff.
9. Cottage dormitories, with children varying ages living in a family atmosphere, should replace the military-barracks-like dormitories now used. Husband and wife teams could be employed to care for these children so they can help develop healthy social and emotional attitudes.
10. More community boarding schools should be patterned after the Rough Rock Demonstration School. Community School boards should have real authority to direct the administration of the school rather than to function in a vague advisory role.

*Recommendations for public schools*

Public schools could possibly become the best form of education for Navajo students if the schools had high and progressive standards and if the community and parents were actively involved in the school programs. If the public school program is inadequate, and the parents are dealt with in a rude or indifferent manner, the public school retards education and creates additional tensions in the community.

1. Public schools should develop programs to help the drop-outs and children with special social family problems. Professional, trained staff should be employed as counselors and social workers so that the child's problems at home can be related to his educational problems. In many progressive areas of the country, school social workers have been employed to meet these important needs.

2. Indian children should not be isolated into special groups, labeled, and stereotyped by the educators. Children should not be made to feel helpless because they are Indians are because they have special needs. Discretion should be exercised in the proper use of Johnson-O'Malley Hot Lunch Program, clothing programs, or in the training of sanitation and health habits. Children receiving welfare benefits should be treated equally.

3. Parents must be respected and included in all levels of their children's education.

4. Navajo culture and history should be included in every phase of the curriculum and should always be treated respectfully. Significant events in Navajo history should receive the same stature and treatment as given to St. Patrick's Day or Columbus Day.

5. There should be emphasis placed on ungraded teaching similar to those methods used in many progressive public schools rather than placing children in "slow groups" or "dummy groups" from which a child seldom emerges throughout his brief educational experience.

6. Special federal and state programs must be developed and funded to meet the special educational needs of Indian children in public schools. Present federal programs should continue so that local schools will be able to maintain and improve their present programs and develop new programs to meet the total educational needs of Indian students.

Although our recommendations may be brief and incomplete, it is the hope of the Navajo Social Action Group that these recommendations will assist the Senate Sub-Committee on Indian Education in their evaluation of the problems and needs of Indian students. The time is short for many Indian students. Soon they will be entering adult life as parents and workers. Indian education must be changed and improved now, so that every child will have an equal opportunity to attain fulfillment as an American citizen of Indian heritage.

Sincerely yours,

**Mrs. Ellouise De Groat**, *Chairman.*

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**The Navajo Social Action Group,**
*Fort Defiance, Ariz., April 4, 1968.*

Hon. **Robert F. Kennedy,**
*Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education,*
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

**Gentlemen**: The most vital force the people of the United States can give to the American Indians, is an education—an education of excellence. We Navajos recognize this and desire the best that the Anglo-American society has to offer our patterns of life.

We want a system of education which will help us learn to seek truths. We want a system of education which will not degrade our ancient Navajo ways. We desire a system which will teach us to solve our own problems, to teach us self-reliance, to give us back our self-respect.

The present Bureau of Indian Affairs School system functions basically as it has ten to twenty years ago. Yet our population has increased, our problems have become more complex. The personnel of the BIA are generally sympathetic with our troubles but can usually do little to cut through the "shackling jungles of red-tape and Bureau policies."

Our hope is that needed changes will come through the wisdom and guidance of our country's leaders.

It frightens us that we have become so dependent upon the Bureau for our education. It behooves us to pay attention to those ominous signs which indicate that this system of education seems to be "cranking out" too many alienated Indian youths, in conflict between the old and the new ways. We have been taught to be ashamed of "our heathen past," our "illiterate ways," and our "unsanitary mode of living."

As a person primarily interested in the social-psychological makeup of many of my contemporaries, I am most hopeful that a study will be made of the effects of boarding school life on our Navajo personality. As a former boarding school student, through personal observations, I am becoming increasingly convinced that boarding school systems have wrought havoc on the personality formation of the Navajo people, en masse. Why are there are so many signs of terrible emotional upheavals—high incidence of alcoholism, the astronomical rise of youthful suicide cases, juvenile delinquency, and other crime rates?

First, may I advocate the following:

1. Personalize the educational approach of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

(*a*) Increase the ratio of dormitory personnel to the children. It presently is a ratio of 1 to 50 children. How can any child during his tender years ever attain the loving warmth of someone interested in his welfare? Our children go to school nine months out of the year. They are deprived of full adult warmth and support during those school months. It is no wonder that the rebellion of our Indian youth to authority has become even more pronounced in recent years.

(*b*) De-institutionalize dormitory living—this can be done, for example, by planning more privacy into the existing facilities. Freedom should be given staff and children to inculcate warmer touches in the dormitories. This may seem to be of trivial importance, yet there is such an obvious vacuum of personal touches, that the observer cannot help but understand why hundreds of Navajos, going through "the process," have not "done so well."

(*c*) Provide full professional school social work, psychological and psychiatric care to any student who requires diagnosis and treatment of emotional problems. These professionals with well-trained anthropologists could also help in the in-service training of school personnel, besides helping to span the bridges between school, community, and parents. They should be given full authority to recommend and enact Bureau policies which may be hampering healthy personality and intellectual growth.

(*d*) Enforce a more vigorous and compulsory training program for the child care staff. Most of the native personnel have been reared in the more rigid school systems of the past. They have had no other models to pattern after, consequently, many still portray rigid, aloof personalities, cold to the needs of the young children. Child growth and development principles are sorely lacking in the interrelationship of children with dormitory personnel. Full utilization should be made of the regional universities and technical centers in developing high standards in the in-service training of the Navajo dormitory personnel.

(*e*) Enforce "cultural sensitivity" workshops particularly for the native personnel. They are in daily contact with the Navajo children. Their attitudes of the Navajo culture have grave impact upon the children. The Navajo staff should be helped to understand and respect the traditions of the Navajo people. To encourage hatred of the Navajo ways only fosters self-degradation among our people. These workshops should be of the highest calibre of instructors, keenly concerned in the amelioration of the Indian people.

2. Lift the standards of classroom instructions.

(*a*) Introduce a vigorous and synthetized appreciation for Navajo history, art, philosophy, and values, into the Bureau school curricula. With all the latest data in the human sciences, certainly, highly professional planning specialists should take advantage of all this "know-how" and develop excellence in the classroom curriculum.

(*b*) Encourage the establishment of classroom instruction for the mentally gifted Navajo children. These classrooms should be taught by the most enthusiastic, highest qualified instructors. There should be some type of stimuli for these gifted children. With professional guidance, these youngsters can learn to appreciate the beauties of the Navajo ways, and with the learned ability to solve problems, perhaps, they can provide future leadership and inspiration in developing a great Navajo society.

(*c*) Encourage widespread development of special education classes for the slow learning and handicapped child. Perhaps, with wisdom and encouragement, these children can be helped to blossom into contributing members of our society, not burdens to the taxpayers.

3. List the overall standards of the educational systems.

(*a*) There should be established educational research centers on our Reservation. If this is unfeasible, the Bureau should contract with universities and other technical centers to solve some of the problems of Indian education. These centers should coordinate the development of audio-visual techniques, research projects, publications of papers vital to Indian education, and/or new techniques in language development.

(*b*) The Bureau should establish at least two educational demonstration centers such as the Rough Rock Demonstration School. These should be placed in two other strategic locations, to show and teach our adult Navajos the great potentials of education.

4. Community services.

(*a*) To succeed, the educational systems must actively involve Navajo parents in the processes of education. The Navajo people must be helped to learn independence. The Bureau personnel must make every effort to involve parents in those decisions effecting Navajo Children. This has not been done in the past because of the need to rush "illiterate" Navajos into the millstream of education: "It took too much time to truly involve the Navajo parents." We cannot afford, as a democratic society, to foster paternalism, among any group of people. Education must become a responsibility of the parents again. The schools must return to the parents and to the communities.

These are only a few recommendations which I hope will be helpful to the Senate Sub-Committee on Navajo Indian Education. My hope is that the Committee will be successful in instigating needed improvements for the education of my people.

Sincerely yours,

GLORIA J. EMERSON,
*Member, Navajo Social Action Group.*

## LETTER FROM A BOARDING SCHOOL TEACHER

TUBA CITY, ARIZ.,
*February 27, 1968.*

Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR: I hope that some of the thoughts and observations in this letter may be of some use in your coming inspection and study of the Navajo reservation. First, I had better admit, that I am a BIA peon (that is, teacher) and so I can't or at any rate don't want to sound as if I can perceive or understand the total picture of problems and progress on the reservation—I have only been here two years, and have only experienced the problem here in a limited manner.

However, two years is long enough for observations to be made, and opinions formed, on the little I have experienced, here at the local level, and this might in turn help provide you with some insight, or at least one person's feelings, on what is or isn't happening. This can at times be valuable, for here is the level at which the successes and failures of people and programs can be most honestly assessed, after all the promotors and disclaimers have made all the speeches and put forth all the ideas. This is the place at which reality steps in, and it is often not pleasant to face.

I realize, of course, that your concern covers many aspects of the life here and the problems are in dozens of areas. It makes for difficulty in selecting one as being the most crucial. However, I'm prejudiced. I feel that many of the problems and answers lie within the reservation schools.

I've only had experience in teaching here at the Tuba City Boarding School. But I've seen enough here and at schools that I've visited, and talked with enough people from different places to come to some—hopefully accurate—conclusions. I hope they prove to be valid, and useful.

One major problem of course, is the boarding school per se. Although the idea of a boarding school, which draws in students from a broad area, is undoubtedly less expensive and more readily controlled than a large number of small day schools, and offers the students advantages such as a good diet and health and sanitation facilities, the problems that it creates are vast, and require solutions. The problems are often recognized, and are often bemoaned, but little has been done to eliminate them. One of these is distance from the home.

In an age and area which need local community interest, involvement and understanding, in which we are supposed to be building and maintaining a harmony between cultures, we find many schools at such distances from the homes of the students, that meaningful contact is difficult to say the least. These distances make meaningful relationships, or even mere visiting, a severe hardship.

(For example, the two young boys who froze to death while running away from a boarding school were trying to get to their homes—fifty miles away.) The lack of transportation and the ruggedness of the terrain compounded the problem.

As a result, most children on the reservation starting at age six, only see their parents on occasional weekends, if that often. At these times parents are usually "allowed to check out their children—if the child's conduct in school warrants it, in the opinion of the school administration. If he has been a "problem" (e.g. has run away) parents are often not allowed to take him until he has "learned his lesson". This may take up to a month to accomplish. This may tend to cut down on runaways, but it would seem that we should work toward eliminating the cause, rather than punishing the results.

However, these are often the lucky children. I have no evidence of this, except the word of teachers who are directly involved, but I have been told of schools (e.g. Toadlena Boarding School) at which parents are not allowed to check their children out on weekends, in order to eliminate runaways, (except for emergencies).

When children are taken from their homes for nine months a year, from age six onward, family ties are severly strained, and often dissolved. Even brothers and sisters in the same boarding school rarely see each other, due to dormitory situations, class and dining hall arrangements. The children become estranged from relatives, culture and much-admired traditional skills. (For example few of my students have been able to learn the art of rug-weaving, or are familiar with Navajo legends, and sandpaintings.)

Yet, this could almost be understood if we were replacing it with something strong on which they could build a new life. We are not. We may be providing some opportunities for academic training—but that is all we are doing.

For example, my own school, the Tuba City Boarding School is the largest on the reservation, housing 1200 elementary students. This alone creates immense problems. I don't believe any public school system in the country would tolerate an elementary school of this size, for the simple reason that the individual student would be lost in the crowd. We have them here, not only for an ordinary school day, but twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, nine months a year.

The problems of properly running any institution of this size are enormous—be it hospital, prison or whatever. However, when we are involved in what is actually the home situation of young children from another culture, we had best do everything possible to provide a secure, pleasant, stable and enlightening environment for them. We aren't.

For instance, if day schools are not possible, could we not at least provide some overnight guest facilities for parents who would like to visit their children? Nothing elaborate or expensive would be necessary—a hogan would suffice and could be put together easily by Navajos in the vicinity. Or, a small frame building might be constructed.

Yet, as far as I know, this is not done anywhere. This might tend to make the school more of a Navajo school, and less a white school for Navajos.

There are many other ways in which the schools could serve. For instance, they could be opened in the evening to provide training, or formal courses, or just things of interest, to the people. Areas which require instruction, such as English, or writing, could be taught by the teachers themselves. In many depressed areas, teachers earn extra money by such professional means. Why not here? Also, many talented Navajos might wish to earn extra money by conducting courses in the weaving of quality rugs, or in teaching oral English to the people. Consumer and health education could be included, with field trips to make them meaningful. The possibilities are endless. Yet nothing is being done in this area.

The academic program could also be improved. It should be realized that the Navajos are a pragmatic people. Perhaps courses which reflect this could be offered to make school more important and more understandable in their eyes. Classes in ship, agriculture and native crafts would be greeted with far greater enthusiasm and understanding than the typical curriculum arouses.

(This idea doesn't set well with many of the "old hands" among the administrators—teachers from my own school—agricultural majors—have been turned down in requesting permission to initiate programs of this sort. The reasons given being a) we are not training them to be rural dwellers—we are urbanizing them; b) they can do these things in certain secondary schools; c) there isn't enough water. However: a) they are rural people; b) they are not made aware of all the possibilities of secondary schools, and without earlier experience, interest and ability will be limited and c) you should see the water that comes from the myriad of sprinklers in town from spring through the fall.

If the opportunity arises, look into the "typical" (as opposed to "showplace") schools. You will see how the limited curriculum is hindering us. (I must admit my direct supervisor is very interested in this area—but personnel and funds—along with policy—limit her.)

However, no matter how lacking our program may appear to be, we always manage to consider the academic department to be high quality when we compare ourselves with our dormitory counterpart, the "guidance" department. Herein lies the most serious deficiency of the entire boarding school system, for these people are in charge of the children sixteen hours a day, seven days a week, yet they are understaffed, under-programmed, under-supervised and over-extended. For example, each dormitory has only one teacher, and it is extremely difficult to find suitable personnel for these crucial, demanding positions. Yet, even the finest teachers could accomplish little, when they are working with 150 children of a different culture, and are responsible for their care and welfare seven days a week.

Of course, there are aids working with the teachers—usually two, but occasionally only one on duty at a time. However, what with trying to mend clothes, supply linens, check roll, keep order, fill out forms prepare children for meals. bathing, school and bed, there is little time to do more than keep the walls from being pulled down. There is nothing to take the place of the homes they have left behind, or the personal interest and training they would have received from their families. The social relationships and interaction which brings about stability and contentment are denied them.

Even an effective guidance program could not replace that. But the truth is, we don't have an effective guidance program, only a "maintenance" program, due to the shortages of guidance personnel, funding and planning. This accounts for the high degree of regimented confusion that abounds after the school day ends. Vast blocks of time are filled with boredom or meaningless activity. There are no learning activities, and few recreational or craft areas being worked in.

The children search everywhere for something—they grasp most hungrily at any attention shown them, or to any straw, that might offer escape from boredom. You can't help but see it in their faces when you visit the dorms of the younger children. At the older boy's dormitories, they are used to the conditions—you can see that too. They no longer expect anything meaningful from anyone. Many have lost the ability to accept anything past the material level, even when it is offered. Unless you lived with them over a period of time, and see the loneliness and the monotony of the daily routine, you cannot appreciate the tragedy of it but it's there.

Yet, even if the guidance department were consistently able to do what they set out to do, it would be something. However, basic things are often neglected. Many children will "slip by" without showering, or washing their single pair of socks, until the odor makes it obvious. Toothbrushes are lost by October or November, or worn out, and that's the end of it. No one has time to check to see if they've been replaced, or even notice if they are missing. Shoes are worn after they are coming apart. Often, dirty clothes will be worn until clean ones are available. Boys get a "zip" haircut from anyone who has a spare minute, regardless of their wishes, or of Navajo tradition. (And what haircuts!) Girls wash their long hair with bars of soap, for lack of shampoo. Stealing in the dorms is rampant.

Because of the shortage of personnel, there is a tendency—a pronounced tendency—to "herd" rather than guide. The boys and girls are yelled at, bossed around, chased here and there, told and untold, until it is almost impossible for them to attempt to do anything on their own initiative—except, of course, to run away. The guidance people definitely need help!

It should be adequately staffed and provided for, and have well planned programs in order to live up to its name (for example, each dorm might have three teachers or more, instead of only one). We might then reduce the necessity of the child's having to run away to his own culture, to receive the personal attention he craves. Until then, perhaps these "prolonged absences" could be viewed as necessary for emotional stability and security, rather than frowned upon. Perhaps traveling specialists could help in the transition of making BIA schools into Navajo schools. Perhaps they could become centers of community interest, instead of white refugees in the Indian world. These, of course, are only suggestions, but it would be nice to see someone begin to do something.

Finally, please don't bother to send this letter on to the BIA, as I wrote you last year and the letter came back "down the line" to the local level, and the very people involved in some of the situations described here evaluated themselves and their programs. The only thing that came out of that were some dark days for me, and a label as a trouble-maker.

I'd like to, someday, be able to work my way up to a position where I could change things—that would be hard to do if I'm on my superiors "s" (for special!) list, so, as a young troublemaker working his way up to being a bigger and better one, I'm asking—don't rock my personal little boat!

Thanks for your interest.

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### Letter From a Boarding School Counselor

October 17, 1968.

Mr. Roy Kennedy,
*Area Personnel Officer, Navajo Area Office,*
*Gallup, N. Mex.*

**Dear Sir**: I know that I might be putting my job somewhat in jeopardy by writing this letter, but I feel that as a concerned and conscientious person, I am morally bound to express opposition to certain of the malpractices that appear to permeate the B.I.A. organization. Before I give vent to my criticisms, I would like to emphasize that I want more than anything else in the world right now to remain on the reservation, to learn something about Indian culture, and to make as positive a contribution as I am capable of making toward the improvement of the lives of a neglected people.

To begin with, I was instructed to report to Gallup for orientation for my present position on September 2. After driving to Gallup from Indiana on August 28, I was told that my reporting day was wrong—no offices were to be open on the 2nd (Labor Day); so I was instructed to stay around until the 3rd of September. No one even apologized for this inconvenience, and it was assumed, I suppose, that as a prospective employee I would be glad to do anything that was expected of me.

I have completed six years of college training and am qualified—at least in the sense of certification and credentials—to teach many social studies courses, psychology, phys. ed., health, and recreation, or to serve as a guidance counselor. At the graduate level, I am certified in guidance, psychology, and phys. ed. I am presently working toward a doctorate in psychological services at Indiana State University. My teaching experience includes four years of public school teaching in Evansville, Indiana, and two years in the Peace Corps in Africa.

I have presented the above background sketch to help support my contention that your hiring practices are somewhat misleading or unjust—either by circumstance or design. When I applied to work on the reservation, I requested that I be considered for a job in guidance, but I indicated that I would be willing to teach or to serve as a recreational leader. Regardless of which of the three positions I was to be asked to fulfill, I anticipated working as a *professional* person. Your office finally confirmed my position as guidance counselor, a misnomer with extensive practical implications.

My job is nominally that of dormitory director. If that were really my job, I could be extremely satisfied; that is, if I could work a reasonable amount of time and could incorporate some of my own ideas into my work, I would be satisfied even though the job is neither what I requested nor what I wish to do. But, in fact, my job is not that of dormitory director; and there is absolutely no opportunity for a creative approach to the job.

After five weeks of work, the following are significant and salient facts that I believe your office should ponder:

1. I have worked from 10–16 hours a day every work day since I have been here. Although I should have had eight days off during that time, there were only three days that I was actually free. On the other days off, it was absolutely essential to work part-time because of personnel shortages. The work-time which I refer to does not include one minute of counseling or of planning. Rather, it consists of retrieving Awols—a disgusting army concept—(30%–40% of time), supervising housekeeping and other work details (about 30% of time), banking (5%–10% of time), meetings (5%–10% of time), and general service boy—do whatever is asked of you around campus—(10% to 20% of time). To work willingly and creatively beyond the call of duty is professionalism, but to be compelled to do routinized chores that in no way relates to one's professional standing is a despicable form of exploitation.

2. By being cast into the roles of "Awol" retriever, housecleaning supervisor, and chief disciplinarian, I have relinquished the possibility of establishing the

type of rapport which is necessary in a positive counseling situaton. In fact, I help to reinforce the Indian skepticism of the white man whom the Indian might rightly regard as lacking in understanding and concern for others.

To be compelled to confront students in very negative situations most of the time is educationally and psychologically indefensible, but to undergo such situations fatigued and irritable has to be the most ludicrous interaction imaginable in the name of education.

3. I am no maverick who stands alone in dissent. During my short stay here up until now of only five weeks, I have heard an incredibly large number of people reverberate the same grievances. (I refer to people who were employed as counselors or who had friends working in that capacity.) Furthermore, my only restraint in writing this letter was the fact that so many others voiced their complaints to no avail. If the reports are true that little is done in the upper echelons of the B.I.A. to correct such widespread injustice, I would like to confess that I will use the B.I.A. for as long as I can—until I am dismissed—as a means of helping me to *attempt* to do some constructive work, but my concept of the organization will be that of unconcern and incompetence incarnate.

I would also like to draw B.I.A. attention to the fact that, from my very short experience, it appears that dormitory-life for Indian youngsters may be on the threshold of serving as a highly worthwhile experience for them. The only obstacle blocking the breakthrough is the inadequate number of personnel. Though the aids, Indian dormitory staff, are often irritable and fatigued, many of them are probably respected as much as any other adults in the lives of the students. Furthermore, many of the aids are highly talented in areas—dancing, crafts, etc.,—which are highly regarded by the youngsters. But, again, the aids have such a multitude of tasks to perform and are spread so thin that few have an opportunity to fully utilize their special skills. I maintain that with but few additions in personnel, a truly remarkable transition could occur.

Many of the problems delineated above could be solved by an increase in funds, and it would be easy to say that because Congress fails to appropriate sufficient funds, we are impotent in bringing about desired change. But if we—every worker in the organization—are worth our salt, we would make every effort to inform both the public and other governmental organizations of how close we are to doing great good but how dismally we may be failing.

May be failing? How do we verify what we believe to be success. At some schools—mine being one—we do not even have a person to conduct follow-up studies to find out how the graduates view their school experience. Where do they go? What problems do they experience both on and off the reservation? Has formal education in the present mode helped them to better cope with some of their problems? Or has it created problems? What recommendations do graduates have for improving the school program?

Could the B. I. A. schools become perfect replicas of middle-class schools in the dominant society without serving in the least the needs of the Indian youth? Could B. I. A. school dormitories reflect perfectly the values of the dominant society and still be abhorred abodes to the Indian children? How many sociological and anthropological studies will it take to convince us of the necessity to consider and respect the peculiar values of those with whom we work if a positive and lasting impact is to be made? We owe it to ourselves and to the Indian people to research what is presently being done so that we might appraise and periodically reappraise the direction we are heading.

I recommend the following as points worth pondering if upgrading the dignity and image of the B. I. A. is desired:

1. Strive to be honest and candid in recruiting prospective personnel.
2. Create job situations wherein professional employees are treated as such.
3. Conduct follow-up studies on Indian students to discern how well B. I. A. schools are helping these students to prepare for the future.

I would appreciate very much a reply in which you either defend the practices I consider unjust or attack what you might consider hypercriticalness on my part. If I am assured that I have evoked a response, the letter will not have been written in vain. Any time and effort you might expend in reading this letter is very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

———— ————.

P.S.—I have not elaborated on minor grievances such as having to pay to install a business phone in my home and having to pay to chaperone students during entertainment they pursue. An almost infinite number of petty grievances could be listed.

P.P.S.—Is the B. I. A. concerned that there exists such a high turnover of personnel in some positions? Does the organization oftentimes lose highly dedicated and talented people? Is there concern over why these people leave? Is there an attempt to rectify almost universal complaints?

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## BOARDING SCHOOLS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF INDIAN CHILDREN

(Paper presented by Dr. Robert L. Bergman to the May 15–16, 1967 Meeting of the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health).

Recently, I was consulted by a Navajo man who will soon receive his Ph. D. in nuclear physics. He described to me some of his experiences in the course of his education which started when he was nine in a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school. At that time, he spoke no English, and since most of the people in the school spoke no Navajo, he became confused. He remained confused for some time. In fact, he told me, "I never did figure out just what had happened to me until about my third year of college." This man is unusually intelligent and it seems likely that many normal boarding school students never figure the experience out at all, and tragically few of them ever approach the success in education that this man has achieved.

For the past year I have been the psychiatrist for the Window Rock Sub-Area of the Division of Indian Health, which is responsible for health services in the Navajo Indian Reservation. In the course of the year I have seen many students who are very puzzled and often distressed by their school experiences, and I have consulted with many boarding school staff members who have been almost equally puzzled and distressed by their students. There is little question that the problems of the boarding schools are very serious, and they effect a large number of children. Of the 152,000 American Indian school children, 36,000 are Navajo. The future of the 110,000 member Navajo Tribe depends in large part on what happens to these children.

There is a tendency among people recently arriving on the reservation, visiting briefly, or simply hearing about conditions there, to look for a culprit. It seems obvious to them that the only possible explanation for the bad state of affairs is that those in charge have been hard-hearted or incompetent. This approach has the advantage of providing an easy explanation for a difficult question and a simple solution for what on closer examination appears almost an insoluble problem. The problem, in fact, is to find some way in which children can be prepared for a life which is totally different from the one in which their basic culture developed, to do this immediately, at a reasonable cost, and in an area where few trained professionals care to live.

One solution that is often suggested is that the boarding schools should not be used and that all young students should be allowed to live at home and attend day schools. To deplore the prevalence of boarding schools is to beat a beaten horse but not a dead one. There has been a tendency to try to ignore some of the problems of boarding schools because they are gradually being replaced. This seems to me a very short-sighted policy since the boarding schools will be with us for some time to come. They exist in the form of large, new, more or less well-built structures whose abandonment would be difficult fiscally and politically. There are many children for whom day school attendance is impractical for geographic and social reasons. There are many areas where all-weather roads which could be used by school buses are nonexistent, and many families for whom social welfare in the form of free housing and food for their children has become a necessity. Many other children are placed in boarding schools because their families have become so disrupted and disorganized that it is felt they are better off in an institution. Whether this would be so if there were work done to help hold such families together I am not sure, but at the present time there are not the resources of money or manpower to do this rehabilitative work.

It seems to me that the boarding schools will be around for a long time to come and it is necessary therefore to examine what they are like, what their effects are and what could improve them.

Recently a Navajo registered nurse at one of our health centers invited several of her co-workers to the puberty rites of one of her daughters. After the ceremony there was a party and one of the non-Navajo nurses from the health center found herself in the midst of a large group of Navajo people talking rapidly to one another in Navajo. She was anxious and confused by her lack of understanding of what was being said and of the social situation in general. When she asked one of her Navajo friends to interpret, she was told, "Now you know how we felt when we started boarding school."

I have been trying to learn Navajo, and find it a very difficult language. It seems reasonable to assume that for a Navajo-speaking child, English is equally difficult, yet these children are expected to come to a large, strange, crowded institution and manage in an almost totally English-speaking environment. Their position is more or less the same as ours would be if we were to be suddenly enrolled in Moscow University and expected to learn astronomy in classes taught in Russian. Elsewhere when children are expected to learn a second language, reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught in their native language, and concurrently they are instructed in the other language. It would seem logical to do this with Indian children, and to start teaching in English only when the children have a reasonable mastery of the language. Submerging the students in English from the first is now so long established a custom however, that it is rarely even questioned.

Adults are sometimes taught foreign languages by the so called "immersion method", but they have different capacities from the children and they are not usually dealing at the same time with the problem of extreme homesickness.

The situation could be materially improved if the children were able to use their own language in their free hours, but this is not usually the case. On the theory that "if the children are allowed to talk Navajo, they won't bother to learn English", native language is usually forbidden.

I was speaking not long ago at a staff meeting of one of the larger Navajo boarding schools, when I was asked about a child whom I had previously examined and found to be psychotic. Given our lack of resources for placing such children, it seemed likely for the present at least that he would remain in the boarding school. I suggested that life could be made more pleasant for the child and he could possibly be reached, if someone were to devote some of his time to activities alone with this particular student. I also suggested what seemed too obvious to suggest, that whoever did this should be Navajo-speaking since the child was not English-speaking. One of the dormitory attendants raised her hand and commented, "but that would be contrary to the Teaching English as a Second Language Program". Now, the Teaching English as a Second Language Program is an attempt to teach language in a systematic way. To allow the children to speak Navajo and even to speak Navajo to them is not, strictly speaking, contrary to the tenets of the program at all. However, as things are in the boarding schools, this is how it often works out. The children are "encouraged to speak English as much as possible" in the dormitory. This encouragement is to be given by the so-called instructional aides, the dormitory attendants. The instructional aides are the lowest members of the boarding school hierarchy—a paradox since psychologically they are the most important. Every instructional aide who has his own best interests at heart wants to appear competent to his superiors, and therefore his encouragement of the children to speak English should be successful. When the instructional aide's supervisor comes around the children should be speaking English. therefore the old custom of children being punished for speaking Navajo is often maintained.

In the world of the boarding school not only the Navajo language but almost all things Navajo are rated very low. The children are frequently told not to be like their parents and are often admonished against following the traditions of their people. One middle-aged woman told me that she went to school in the days when few Indian children were enrolled and she went more or less against the wishes of her parents. She had been eager to go to school and did well in her first two years, but then left suddenly. I don't believe that the school knew the reason for her leaving but she told it to me. Her teacher one day was angry at the laziness of the class and said, "If you want to live in a hogan for the rest of your life just don't bother to study". Since this woman definitely did want to live in a hogan for the rest of her life, she left school. There are other bizarre consequences of this system. In my consultations with school personnel I often encounter instructional aides who pretend not to speak Navajo. They have become so convinced that speaking Navajo is a bad thing to do, that they often won't admit that they can. The children learn that what they say in Navajo is effectively kept secret from the authorities even if one of the Navajo-speaking members of the staff hears them, because the Navajo staff member will be too ashamed of having understood to tell anyone.

It is rather unfair to criticize the work of the instructional aides since these people are given an utterly impossible job. There are generally between 60 and 80 students per dormitory attendant on duty at any one time. Often someone will be away from work and the student ratio rises to 210 students per instructional aide. This ratio of staff to student implies that nothing more is expected than that the children be controlled. The students are children more or less permanently away from their families. Ideally, the school should provide them with a surrogate parent.

The explanation for this situation is probably that when the schools were being planned, the lives of the children outside the classroom were not considered important, and the system has ossified as originally set up. I have been struck by hearing the plans for enriching the boarding school programs under federal financing. Only one of the plans that I have heard provides for increasing the number of instructional aides. One school which has the usual ratio, has applied for a grant to buy a motion picture projector for every classroom.

The lack of concern for the basic needs of the children as best expressed by the small number of dormitory staff, is evident in many other aspects of dormitory life. In the main, there is little or no encouragement of the children to confide in the school personnel. The instructional aides of a number of schools are told that they are not qualified to do counseling and that all such problems should be referred to their superiors. This puts them in a difficult position. If they should find the time to talk with an individual child and the child comes to them in tears for comfort, they are not sure that they won't get in trouble for overstepping the limits of their position by trying to help him, and they are sure that they should not attempt to comfort him in the language of his parents. Many of the aides doubtless are aware of the faults of this system, but as the lowest ranking, most easily replaced members of the school staff they are not in a very good position to do anything about it. There are of course many exceptions and some schools encourage instructional aides to try to be substitute parents. On the other hand staff and students sometimes get each other into trouble if they try to develop a personal relationship. I recently heard of an incident in which a school employee invited several girls to come to her quarters and make fry bread, a traditional Navajo food. All concerned were reprimanded for the violation of school rules.

The lack of parents or parent substitutes leaves the children with few opportunities for identifying with any adult, except in a negative way. They see that the Navajo employees of the schools generally are low in status and are not much respected by the powers that be, and this does not help their own feeling of self-esteem. There is little chance to learn by observation how one may live in the Anglo world.

The somewhat limited social opportunities of the boarding high school give the adolescent students few protected ways of exploring boy-girl relationships. The sexes are pretty well kept separate most of the time, and even casual contact between them is looked on with some suspicion by school officials anxious about possible scandal. A hostile, rebellious attitude develops in the students and they make their own opportunities away from the potential help of adults. Many students make a very abrupt transition from no dating at all to sneaking out to drink and make love.

The schools not only limit the social order within their own walls, but often display a rather poor understanding of the Indian society surrounding them. On one occasion, the mother of one school child and the aunt of several others came to visit their school. The nieces and nephews were not allowed to visit because they were not the woman's own children. This decision was made despite the fact that the Navajo society regards such relationships almost as close as direct ones.

The physical structure of the schools also seems to indicate that the students' life outside of the classroom is unimportant. Dormitories are usually large barrack-like structures with no provision for privacy, and usually no space that is each individual's to control as he sees fit. Only occasionally is there opportunity for the children to decide on the decoration of any of their living space.

The description of conditions that I have given is a composite and emphasizes what I feel to be worst about the schools. There probably is no school that has all of the faults I have described and there are two exceptional schools with which I am acquainted that have very few of them. In the main however, I believe this to be a fairly accurate account of what the boarding schools are like in the Southwest, where most of them are, and from what has been written about them, I think it is reasonable to assume that many of the schools elsewhere are similar. With the amounts of time and money available for them I don't see how they can be very different.

In addition to understanding the conditions in the boarding schools, we must try to evaluate their effects on the students. This task is made complex by the usual difficulties of collecting and analyzing data on personality, and in addition, by the fact that these children not only are being sent to boarding schools but also to an alien culture. This I suspect would cause them trouble no matter how good the schools.

In his book, *Childhood and Society*,[1] Erik Erikson has analyzed the situation of Sioux children entering boarding school and has shown how poorly their early training meshes with their schooling, the child-rearing practices of Indian peoples evolved to suit a life no longer existent. The experiences of the first five years of life are well suited to begin the formation of a sense of identity as a member of extended family and a tribe, and the personality of the Indian child is shaped to suit the old customs of his people. Since the coordination between child-rearing practices and the adult way of life is an unconscious and automatic mechanism, even parents who desire their children to become acculturated are likely to continue the parental behavior that feels normal to them.

When a six-year-old Indian child comes to school he is suddenly placed in a society for which his previous experience suits him poorly. This divergence produces difficulties that are usually looked on as signs of backwardness, poor motivation, or of spoiling by the parents. These are regarded as deficiencies in the child, an attitude not lost on him, and are usually dealt with by semi-disciplinary measures. The reaction of the schools plus the inadequate number of people to work with the child, so complicate matters, that it is almost impossible to sort out the original culture conflict from secondary troubles. For the most part, the schools have not made any great efforts to lessen these problems of cultural conflict. One major exception to that statement is the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation, where helping the children to find personal answers to this conflict is one of the major goals. This school is still so new that it is not yet time to evaluate the success of the effort.

In addition to problems of cultural difference, many boarding school students have the burden of being from disrupted homes. Many children are enrolled for this reason. Although it is impossible to be sure about what causes what, it is important to investigate the troubles of the students of the boarding schools, because even if conditions in the schools are not the causes, the schools are still going to have to find solutions for the problems.

Others who have studied the Indian schools, particularly Robert Leon and Thaddeus Krush,[2] [3] have written that there is an unusually high incidence of emotional disturbance among the students. I have not made any systematic study, and my ideas are merely impressions, but I have seen individually well over a hundred children from boarding schools, I have visited a number of schools, and I have treated and otherwise talked with many graduates of Indian boarding schools. I believe that there is a significantly increased incidence of emotional disorder.

Leon [2] has written that it is the children from poor homes who react badly to the stress of being placed in a boarding school at the age of six. I agree. It seems that some children reach the age of six so confident and capable that they could manage almost anywhere. Many other children are more vulnerable, and though they might be all right at home, they run into trouble in the schools.

The trouble takes many forms. I do not think that I see a greater incidence of psychosis than in an urban middle class population, and this would seem consonant with the generally accepted idea that these severe illnesses have their roots in the experiences of infancy and in heredity. On the other hand, behavior disorders do seem to occur very frequently. These might better be called problems of lack of behavior. The majority of the children who are referred to me are sent because of the suspicion of mental regradation. Some, of course, are mentally retarded, but many seem mainly to have developed a pattern of passive resistance to the school. Often these children have managed to learn almost nothing in several years of school and yet can perform non-scholastic tasks—especially traditional Navajo ones—at a very high level.

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[1] Erikson, E.: *Childhood and Society*, New York. Norton, 1950.

[2] Leon, R.: *Mental Health Considerations in the Indian Boarding School Program.*

[3] Krush. T.: Bjork, J.; Sindell. P.; Nelle, J.: Some Thoughts on the Formation of Personality Disorder—Study of an Indian Boarding School Population, *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 122 pps. 868–876 (Feb. 1966).

In the wintertime, children sitting around the hogan often entertain themselves by making string figures—a traditional pastime similar to cat's-cradle. It is surprising how often supposedly mentally deficient children can rapidly go through a large repertoire of string figures, each of which has cost me hours of effort to master. These children show considerable skill in reasoning in non-scholastic areas, but in school seem hopeless. For the past two years there has been a pilot project in special education in one of the Navajo schools. Many children thought to be mentally retarded have suddenly blossomed under a regime of added individual attention, and have moved back up to grade and back into regular schools.

Not only are there children who learn almost nothing, but the bulk of the children seem to learn excessively slowly. Almost all of the Navajo students are below grade. In part, this is due to the fact that they had to learn English before going on to the normal curriculum, but even in later grades, among children with a fair mastery of English, the achievement levels are not good. It has been reported from reservations where the children mainly speak English at home that there is a point in early adolescence where the students suddenly dip below the national norms, and this is observable among the Navajos as well. I am not at all sure of the explanation for this phenomenon, but I believe that one of the reasons for it is that the children constitute a kind of low achievement culture, where resistance to learning is expected and good performance frowned upon. Certainly in high school there seems to be growing tendency towards delinquent behavior. In many schools, it is more acceptable to one's classmates to sniff glue and gasoline and to drink, than to get good grades.

I am often struck by the difference between the children I see in the schools and the patients on the pediatric wards. In school, the children often seem abnormally subdued and sometimes even apathetic, but in the hospital, where the main difference is the much greater individual attention and consequent lack of regimentation, the patients are more active, spontaneous and trusting.

I think that many of the children feel a great antagonism between themselves and the schools and resolve it by concluding that there is something wrong either with them or with the schools. Certainly the attempt by many schools to downgrade the customs with which the students identify closely, could leave them with no other choices. Faced with the alternatives of believing their parents right or the school right, most children choose their parents, especially if the parents are affectionate and the school unconcerned. The students then often go either the route of depression and withdrawal or of resistance and delinquency.

Since the schools usually maintain fairly strict control, the delinquency is often of a particularly circumspect sort; this also fits the traditional Navajo high evaluation of cunning. Krush, in his work at the Flandreau School, found the adolescents particularly adept at seeming to go along with whomever was in charge at the moment without having much real personal conviction as to what was right or wrong. I have seen many such children on the Navajo Reservation.

Group hostility is often directed at scapegoats. In a situation where large groups of children are constantly together with rigid but not very close adult supervision, opportunities for teasing are particularly great. I regularly see depressed, masochistic children who have a special proclivity for being baited, and the baiting is often extreme. Children with physical deformities are also often badly treated by their classmates, and there is little the outnumbered dormitory staff can do about it.

Children with seizures are in an even worse position. Seizures are cause for alarm and disgust among traditional Navajos. They are thought to be caused by incest or haunting by the dead, and are sometimes taken as a sign that the affected person is a witch. Children with seizures are usually stigmatized and ostracized, but they can and often do strike back. Many of them learn that the attacks frighten the other children so much that they can be used as a weapon. They then develop a large stock of pseudoseizures with which they can sometimes dominate the life of their dormitory. I once attended a conference about one girl, who besides her grand mal seizures, which were well documented clinically, had other attacks which the school called "her running seizures." When aggravated, she would being to yell and run madly about the room. When she did, the other sixty girls in the dormitory would all run out the doors. I asked the dormitory attendants what they did, and one answered, "We hide in the closet."

Among the young adults who are the first generation of Navajos in which the majority went to school, there are many severe problems. The problems that occur with excessive frequency are ones involving the breakdown of social control: drunkenness, child neglect, and drunken and reckless driving. Alarming numbers of people have lapsed into an alienated, apathetic life marked by episodes of delinquency and irresponsibility. It is not uncommon to find several children under the age of five left alone for several days while their parents are in town drinking. Data on such problems in the past are nonexistent, but most Navajos and others who have been around the reservation for many years agree that the incidence is increasing. I have encountered many mothers who take the attitude that they should not have to be burdened with their children and that the hospital or some other institution should care for them. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that their having been placed by their own parents in an impersonal institution contributes to such attitudes, and it is noticeable that the boarding schools provide children and adolescents with little or no opportunity to take care of other children or even of themselves.

Further, in former times, old people were the ones mainly responsible for social control. It was customary for an uncle or a grandfather to go to a young person and tell him quietly that he was doing wrong and that people were talking about him. Many people seem to have been educated out of their respect for old people without learning any consistent internal controls to replace it. Admittedly my outlook is biased by the fact that I mainly see people in trouble, but I have had the benefit of talking with a number of people who have devoted great efforts to these problems and of seeing their work. The suggestions that follow are my own but derive from ideas of others. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Robert Roessel of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, Mr. Wayne Holm, of the Rock Point Boarding School, and Mrs. Ellouise DeGroat of the Gallup Indian Hospital.

The most basic need, I think, is to recognize that the life of the boarding school student outside the classroom is more important than his formal education, and that if the children are to grow up successfully, away from their parents, some substitute must be provided. Programs stemming from this recognition will be costly and will require educating those concerned into a new approach because with present attitudes, increased money will be spent for teaching equipment rather than on people.

Dormitory personnel must be increased by a factor of about four, which would provide one attendant on duty per fifteen to twenty children. The dormitory attendants' importance must be recognized so that their morale, their freedom of action, and their status in the eyes of the children will improve. It would be best if the dormitory personnel knew the children, were familiar with the ways of their families, and spoke their native language. There is no supply of such people with any particular training for the task, and such a supply must be created by hiring Indian people and training them. This could be accomplished by also hiring experienced child care workers as dormitory supervisors and in-service educators. For example, people with experience in residential treatment centers might serve in such supervisory and training capacities. They would be particularly qualified for the work because if they came from good institutions they would have learned what it is most important for anyone working in a boarding school to learn, namely, to examine his own attitudes and behavior in order to understand and reach children. The work of Bettelheim[5] [6] [7] and Redl[8] [9] seems particularly applicable to the situation of the Indian children in boarding schools.

With larger, better prepared dormitory staffs, the schools could become less regimented and much more helpful in easing the strain now felt most by the children alone between old ways and new. Greater respect and attention to old ways would almost certainly have the effect of lessening the children's task of modifying their identities to fit modern needs.

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[5] Bettelheim, B.: *Love Is Not Enough—The Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children*, New York Free Press, 1955.

[6] Bettelheim, B.: *Truants From Life—The Rehabilitation of Emotionally Disturbed Children*, New York, Free Press, 1955.

[7] Bettelheim, B.: Training the Child Care Worker, *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 28(2) pps. 256–265, 1958.

[8] Redl, F.: *Children Who Hate*, New York, Free Press, 1951.

[9] Redl, F.: *When We Deal With Children*, New York, Free Press, 1966.

I would like to suggest certain rearrangements of school distribution. I think that on-reservation high schools should be changed to elementary schools and off-reservation elementary schools to high schools. With the increased eelmentary school space on reservation, more young children could go to boarding schools close to home. Where it is possible, true community schools should be created. The parents should be made a real part of the school program, which can only happen in addition to their being invited to visit as is now done, facilities are created for them to stay with their children when on visits. More important, their suggestions for the conduct of their children's education should be solicited and listened to. They should be encouraged to take their children home overnight or for weekends as often as possible.

In a community school, children would be with their neighbors and relatives, and the school could take advantage of the added comfort derived from being with people by arranging to have siblings or friends sleep in adjacent beds. Older children could be encouraged to help out younger ones to the benefit of both.

As new dormitories are constructed, they should have smaller rooms with more privacy, allow for the children to have some territory under their individual control, and include living quarters for house parents.

What then of the high schools? I think that with an improvement in elementary education, the children would be well prepared to cope with off-reservation life, and that there would be considerable benefit in intergrating them into urban public schools. There are now dormitories in a number of off-reservation communities, but these are large under-staffed institutions, where the student's integration into the public schools begins with his first class in the morning and ends immediately after his last one in the afternoon. If small, scattered, well-staffed dormitories could be constructed in various towns and cities, the students could really become a part of the communities. Integration would break up some of the low achievement, delinquent culture now common in the Indian high schools and could do more than any class work to show the adolescents what kinds of lives are possible in the outside world. It would probably greatly reduce the occurrence of the now common problem of high school graduates with only the haziest idea of what college is for or what it is like.

Since so few jobs are easily observed by a boarding school child, it would be a good thing if imaginative vocational counseling were to be begun early. It is hard for an adolescent to give immediate pleasures for the sake of his education if he has no ability to picture himself in a pleasant position in the future as a result of his present sacrifice.

There recently has been an effort to add more counselors to the staffs of some of the larger schools. I think that it would be more economical to bring such trained people directly into the general dormitory program in order to improve it rather than to expect them to solve the children's problems through limited psychotherapy that does not reach the immediate causes of trouble.

For more disturbed children, special facilities need to be created. There are currently few classes for handicapped children, none for especially gifted ones, and none for the psychotic. The needs in this area are obvious.

Finally, in all aspects of the program, there must be an understanding and respect of Indian history and tradition. Perhaps Indian students someday will not confuse, as several of my patients have, such dates as for example, the surrender of the Navajos to the U.S. Army and the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

I realize that it is presumptuous of me to say all this when I have not had to struggle with these problems and when, given the conditions under which they have had to work, the Bureau of Indian Affairs Branch of Education has done better than might fairly have been expected. What I have been trying to point out, however, is that we have still a long way to go. Much more needs to be done to educate their children if the Indian people are to survive and prosper.

## A SECOND REPORT ON THE PROBLEMS OF BOARDING SCHOOLS

(By Robert L. Bergman, M.D.)

(Paper presented at the May 1968 meeting of the American Academy of Pediatrics Indian Health Committee.)

One year ago, I had the privilege of speaking with you on the subject of the problems of Indian boarding school students. Since that time, I have had the opportunity of observing the schools and their students more intensively than before. The Navajo Area Mental Health Program has been expanding and we have tried to make the needs of children our first business. We have consulted with a number of schools, one continuously, and we have examined and treated several hundred school children. Unfortunately, greater information does not insure clearer understanding and it sometimes seems that we understood more when we knew less. However, two things are quite clear to me: There are many able people working hard to improve Indian education, and the problem is so serious and difficult that much more will be needed from all of us before the situation of the Indian boarding school students becomes easier.

Unfortunately the boarding schools have continued to be the subject of angry debate. Many public figures have attacked them bitterly and these attacks have understandably stimulated an energetic defense from within and without the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The trouble is that the opponents of the system rarely offer alternatives other than the unrealistic one of abolishing the boarding schools, and that the defenders often fail to take the opportunity the attacks present to acknowledge the seriousness of the problem and ask for the additional help—financial and otherwise—needed to cope with it.

I have become obsessed with one aspect of the problem: The inadequate staffing of dormitories. This subject appeals to me because it appears crucial and at the same time relatively concrete and simple. Recently, Secretary of the Interior Udall said in a television interview, "Fifteen years ago, we had a crash program to get many children into school. Necessarily some of the methods used were harsh as far as the human result was concerned, but a child in a boarding school is better off than a child not in school at all."

One of the problems of large institutions is their inertia. When it was necessary in the years after World War II, to suddenly make schooling available to vast numbers of children, I am sure that many makeshifts were adopted. Some of them have never been abandoned. I suspect that when staffing patterns were developed, the attitude of those making the plans was that we could get by with small numbers of dormitory personnel for a short time and that as the crises eased, improvements could be made. What happens too often in such situations though is that a makeshift becomes a permanent state of affairs. The government does not like to increase its expenditures, and the usual line of thinking with those who make budgets is, "They say things are going all right as they are; therefore we do not have to increase the numbers of personnel." Last year the Indian Health Committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics recommended that there should be one dormitory attendant on duty per 15 children. The ratio has remained approximately one to sixty or seventy, and this often becomes much worse when someone is absent from work.

The shortage of dormitory personnel would be bad enough even if the instructional aides could devote their full time to the care of children, but as things are they must devote much of their time to housekeeping. It seems to me that no matter what other improvements are made in the boarding school program, the children will be receiving inadequate care as long as the only parents or parent substitutes they know for most of the year are overworked instructional aides whom they share with 60 other children.

Despite the obviousness of children's need for parents or adequate substitutes, little seems to be done to provide them in the boarding schools. The results of this failure is alarming. Some of them, such as the high incidence of enuresis among children who are not enuretic at home, are obtrusive. Others are less noticeable but probably more serious. Many children are referred to us because of suspected mental retardation. Most of them are retarded except educationally, and when we get to know them, it becomes apparent that they feel that school is not for them. There has been no one to encourage them in their work, and the regimentation that is a necessity in a large, understaffed institution has convinced many of them either that the school is opposed to their needs or that they are not adequate to satisfy the demands that the school makes on them. In addition to the children who are doing an absolutely unacceptable work, there are many who are getting by but doing much less than they are capable of. The general achievement level of the boarding school students is disturbingly low. I am sure there are many reasons for them not to do better, but it is my impression that the most important of them is that they lack the help of individual adults in their emotional and intellectual growth.

Any group of children would have trouble under these conditions, and, I think, Indian children have even more trouble than others might. For most of us, school was a natural and expected development in our lives. We knew we would go and when we got there, it was not terribly unlike what we had known before. For most children, the implicit and explicit lessons we learned in school only confirmed and extended our identities and values. On the other hand, many of the children who are introduced to boarding schools each year find themselves in so strange and confusing an environment that they are forced to reconsider most of their ideas of how one goes about the business of living. The physical environment and the goals they are expected to adopt are strange and illogical in terms of their past experience. To many of the beginner students, the school appears to be opposed to their most basic ideas of who they are and what they should do. They are forced to decide either that the school is right and they are wrong, or that they are right and that the school is wrong and a dangerous enemy to be resisted.

If there were only people to pay attention to this crisis in each child and help him with it, the situation would be far more manageable. If the children found reassuring adults with whom they could identify and with whom they could share their worries, they would still have a hard time, but they would be much more likely to decide that school was a good place for them and that they were good enough for school. As things are, the children arrive in great numbers, all at once, and the instructional aides have all they can do to see to it that their physical necessities are met. All too often, even now, the children find that they are not supposed to speak the only language they know, and that their way of life is not only vastly different from the school's, but that it is poorly thought of by the people who are now caring for them.

As time goes on, the children do get to know their instructional aides, but are not able to be close to them because they share them with too many others. Only an exceptionally energetic and efficient aide has the time to do much in the way of advising, reassuring or even of simply befriending children, and then he must pick which child to spend time with. In making this difficult choice the aides naturally tend to work with the children who come around or who, by being noticeably in trouble, ask for help. The children who in their loneliness and discouragement seclude themselves are easily missed when no one has much time to look out for them. For most of the children there is no significant adult to admire and model themselves on; no one to please by coming back from class with a good grade on a test or with a new skill to show off.

The children come to depend on themselves and each other, and even become alienated from the world of their parents. Many of the adolescent and pre-adolescent children we see believe that their old way of life is poor, but they have only vague ideas of what would be better. The schools have succeeded in convincing them that some things are not good for them, but not in helping them to find what is good for them. The school does not feel like a friend to them, and in many cases we find that they are more guided by their need to oppose it than by any wish to succeed on its terms. The children no longer feeling respect for the teachings of the home and feeling a definite distrust of the school, find their guidance from the values of their classmates, and in many cases the group pressure is toward delinquency, or at least toward passive resistance. We have encountered a number of students who have felt under pressure to do their classwork badly or at least not too well.

The problem of children and schools coming into consistent opposition, is certainly not restricted to the Indian schools, but in many cases it is serious with them, and I believe will continue unless more adequate dormitory care is given to the children. The defenders of the Indian boarding schools have sometimes pointed out that many upper class children are sent to boarding school and that in some cases this is considered a privilege. Private boarding schools present an interesting contrast to the BIA system. In most cases, there are many more people responsible for caring for the children outside of class, and there is a crucial difference in the attitude of the children and the school personnel towards one another. Even in rather strict and repressive private boarding schools, the children feel that they and their families are every bit the equals if not the superiors of those running the school. If the rules seem oppressive, the natural reaction of the students is to rebelliously consider the school to be in the wrong. It is probably a rare experience for upper class boarding school students to be told that their parents' way of life is a disgrace. The Indian boarding school students, on the other hand, are told directly or indirectly that the school and its personnel are their superiors, and that if they don't fit in well they are at fault.

Obviously hiring more instructional aides will not automatically solve these problems, but it is hard to see how they can be solved without doing so. The suggestion we recently heard from the Bureau of Pupil-Personnel Services that what needs to be done is to hire more psychologists, social workers, and other professionals does not seem adequate. Even if many of these people could be recruited, their task would be to try to correct the results of a bad situation, which itself would remain unchanged. Attempts by people in these new positions to redirect the work of the dormitory staff of the schools, would be severely limited by the shortages of personnel. If, on the other hand, they try to follow traditional methods of individual therapy or casework, they will be able to reach only a small portion of the students who need help, and they will be hampered by being outside the situation in which the problems arise.

With the same money that would be necessary to hire a force of professionals, a more effective force of paraprofessionals could be recruited. It is often difficult to find good professionals who are eager to go to live in remote areas. There are lots of potential good dormitory attendants living near the schools already. I think that in many ways these people would be more valuable than professionals from outside the community. The local people know the children, their language and their ways, and the children trust them more readily than they do non-Indians whose language and behavior is strange to them. To hire more professionals without noticeably increasing the numbers of instructional aides, would perpetuate a bad situation which we of the mental health program along with many others have been trying hard to correct. There is an unfortunate tradition of self-doubt among the aides. Often in the past, and occasionally in the present they have been told that they are not qualified to 'counsel' the children. The result has been that many aides avoid trying to help children in trouble when they could do an excellent job. Hiring professional counselors without helping the aides to have more time to work with the children would be another effective step in convincing the aides that they are supposed to be drill sergeants and floor polishers but not substitute parents.

If we want the children to feel that the schools think they are important individuals who deserve and will get good care, the staffing of the schools will have to be changed. The situation as it now is, tells the children that they should turn themselves off outside the classroom and make no trouble. A good example is the case of night care. Night is a particularly difficult time for many children, particularly for those away from home. It is a time of nightmare and sleeplessness for many, and yet it is standard practice to have one night attendant per 150 or more children and to relegate the least capable people to this important job. Night attendants indeed are paid even less than instructional aides, and there is almost never any chance for them to know anything about the children when they should be helping. In the past when I have talked about this problem, I have been told by school personnel that nothing much happens at night but they hear this from the night attendants who generally aren't around when needed, and I hear about the troubles that do come up, from boarding school children who are my patients.

In the course of our work with the schools over the past two years, we have had many chances to meet with groups of instructional aides and teacher-counselors in a number of schools. These meetings have been at least instructive to us and I think they have had some value for the schools. One project in particular has been interesting and may be an example of what would be a way of helping the aides to make the most of new opportunities of counselling the children which I hope will be coming.

Last December, Dr. William Benham, Assistant Area Director for Education, of the Navajo Area of the BIA, gave us the opportunity to set up a pilot project for increasing the skills of the guidance staff of a boarding school. He arranged that members of the education staff should be able to work with us, and throughout the project we have had the benefit of the help of a number of the staff members of Dr. Benham's office, as well as that of Mr. Ernest Magnuson, Superintendent of Education for the Fort Defiance Agency, and members of his staff. The school chosen for the project was the Teyel Elementary School, and all of the people working there have been most helpful to us.

We decided to attempt intensive consultation with the entire staff of the guidance department. The consultants were Mr. Magnuson, four BIA Educational Specialists, and seven members of the Mental Health team. The group was divided into six pairs, all but one of which had one BIA and one PHS member, and each pair of consultants conducted weekly meetings with a group of eight to ten instructional aides and teacher-counselors. Most groups met sixteen times. The members of the groups were told that we were meeting in order to help them to find ways of solving psychological problems presented by their children, and that we would try to do this by having free discussions of any cases, specific problems or other topics the group wanted to bring up. We were initially worried that the aides would be reticent about discussing problems, and were greatly pleased to find that in the main they were not. Many interesting cases were presented and followed from week to week, and a number of general problems were examined and possible solutions discussed before and after they were tried. We were pleased to see that most of the members of the groups seemed enthusiastic about the meetings, and were moved to try out new approaches to old tasks. Though it is impossible to know in this field precisely what causes what, it seemed to us that the meetings were helpful to the individual students whose cases were followed, and that the meetings stimulated thought and innovation on the part of the guidance staff. What might be most important is that the very existence of the program reinforced the aides' belief that counseling is their most important job and that they should work on their own initiative.

The meetings were of course helpful to the consultants in increasing our understanding of boarding school problems. The groups developed ideas of things that should be done, some of which have already been tried and some of which require changes beyond the scope of one school. It became clear that people were not talking to one another enough. Often questions were raised about a child's behavior in the classroom and none of the members of the guidance department knew anything about it, because they hadn't talked with any of the members of the academic department. We encouraged the aides to visit the classrooms and to exchange information about their children with the teachers, and we also suggested that the children's grades be sent to the dormitory staff, since, in the main, they had no knowledge of how the students were doing academically. Informal talks increased but it seems likely that only some formal structure for consultation between departments will make a permanent difference. We thought that our meetings showed that discussion of the problems of the school among those directly concerned produced greater understanding even without any special guidance from the consultants, and I think that we have demonstrated the value of open discussion of mutual problems among the staff on a regular and formal basis. Such meetings would be valuable in any school and do not require outside help. We believe that our technique can be of value in the training of instructional aides and that it can be more helpful than any formal course conducted away from the boarding schools.

We learned that in a number of cases, trouble came up with a child after he had been moved to a new group or after a favorite aide was moved. At times we suggested moves, but when the children lost a group or a single person who had been important to them, because of a reorganization undertaken for administrative reasons, there seemed to be trouble. We suggested that good relationships should be preserved wherever possible, even when administratively inconvenient.

Running away from school was a very frequent topic of discussion, and a number of ideas about it developed. In some cases, running away seems normal though undesirable behavior. Some of the children seemed simply to be asserting their independence or demonstrating their strength and ability by doing what has become a real custom, just as it is customary for children in day schools to ditch school at least once or twice in a lifetime. In other cases, children seemed to be escaping from punishment for some misbehavior, and we saw that immediate and brief disciplinary measures would be superior to delayed or drawn out ones in avoiding this and other problems. Often children were running home to check up on trouble they feared was going on there and in several cases it proved effective to encourage students to discuss their worries about home with their aides or teacher counselors and for them to be taken for a visit home when necessary. In general we found that much greater knowledge of the children's homes and families is needed and we hope that in the future more staff time and more vehicles will be available for making home visits.

Knowledge of the family proved to be very important in another type of running away. We encountered a number of boys and girls who remained at home for days or weeks after running away. When the aides visited they found that the parents were distrustful of the school and not at all convinced that their children should be there. Sometimes the children had run away because they wanted to miss an exam or because they were embarrassed by having been caught in some kind of trouble. Then they would tell their parents that the aides were beating them up. The parents not having a very high opinion of the school to begin with, believed them and indignantly kept them at home. We found that many of the children who ran away and were otherwise poor students came from families with a low regard for the school. Visits from aides who were obviously intelligent and devoted to the students helped, but the problem seems to call for broader measures.

The bad opinion that many Indian families have of the boarding schools is partly realistic. They know of the inadequate staffing of the dormitories and the troubles that result, and as this situation improves so will the opinion that the community forms of the schools. In addition, many parents remember the days when life was much harder in the schools; when speaking Navajo was never allowed, and punishments were often arbitrary and severe. Sometimes these conditions still persist and word of them spreads more rapidly than of the improvement that has been taking place. In general, the people have insufficient contact with the schools and do not feel a proper sense of possession about them.

Theoretically, parents are welcome in the schools, but not all staff members welcome them, and many parents are too shy to come without a great effort being made to invite them. At the Rock Point School, a special program for parents is provided every Friday afternoon when families come to take their children home for the weekend. Such efforts, if more widespread, could be a great help in convincing parents that their children are well off in school.

Another valuable step for improving the schools' relations with their communities and for improving the schools themselves, is to give the communities more voice in their administration. This trend is now in its painful beginning stage. Local chapters of the Navajo tribe are being consulted more and more and they are being encouraged to form education committees, where there were none before. This is a tricky business. Two opposite tendencies often appear and defeat the purpose of such community boards. On the one hand, they can be treated as pleasant and entertaining display pieces without any real power. If they are treated this way no good comes of it either as a public relations effort or as an effort to find ways of running the school better. On the other hand, giving community groups authority but no guidance can be even more disastrous. I suspect that when this happens it is due to hostility, conscious or unconscious, to the notion of giving communities any power at all. Basically the reasoning is, "We'll give them authority if you want us to, and watch what a mess they make of it." Unlike most large institutions, the BIA schools are not used to citizen boards.

Such groups elsewhere depend on the professional staff of their institutions to educate them and inform them on the technical details of their work, but they can and do exercise great authority in policy setting and hiring and firing. At the Rough Rock Demonstration School, where there is a school board of this kind, the community has shown its ability to safeguard the school against making serious mistakes, to suggest new and valuable programs and to improve old ones. In addition, the parents of the students are proud of the school and support it in many ways.

The dormitory parent program that has been tried at several schools is promising as a solution to several problems. In this plan, parents from the neighborhood of the school are employed temporarily in the dormitories. It is a partial remedy to the lack of dormitory personnel, and any help in that direction is welcome. It gives greater impetus to the idea that the schools should provide substitute parents, and it brings the school and the community closer together. The parents who have taken part in the program have seen not only what is good about the schools but they also have a new appreciation of how difficult the school's job is. Some of the aides in our program at Teyel were very pleased to see what a hard time some of the dormitory parents had after these same parents had complained about the aides for not working hard enough.

One of the most difficult problems that came up in our discussions at Teyel was the need for special education. Our experience suggests that there are about the same percentage of retarded and seriously emotionally disturbed children among the Navajo as among the population at large. This fact presents serious difficulty, however, because the classes for such children are not nearly large enough to fill the need. The regular schools are faced with a difficult choice whenever they deal with this kind of student. They must decide to take some of the already inadequate time for care of the normal children and devote it to a single individual or they must neglect the real needs of a child who could be helped, and hope that he will get by somehow. Usually, the situation deteriorates to the point where the student is excluded from school and sent home because there is so special class to send him to.

Two years ago, Mrs. Frances Bontzen of the Washington Office of the BIA Branch of Education, conducted an excellent pilot project for finding and educating retarded children. A sample population was screened and the children who were found to be in need of special education were provided it by classes at the Teec Nos Pos Boarding School. Many of the children were enabled to return to regular classes after only one year The project and the report which it produced are models of intelligence and the efficient use of limited funds.

It was hoped that the pilot project would serve as a model for screening all the school children in the BIA schools of the Navajo area, and that similar classes could be started in other parts of the reservation. The Public Health Service provided the medical portions of the screening done in the original project and we were eager to cooperate in this way again. Mrs. Bontzen did a great deal of advance work for screening the children in the Tube City Agency, but unfortunately, the funds that were to be available for this work were cut and finally, Mrs. Bontzen was called away from the work she had started so that she would be available for administrative assistance in Washington. It is my understanding that the screening will be continued, though without Mrs. Bontzen to provide her intelligent guidance and unique experience, and that no funds are going to be available to set up more classes. It seems to me that Mrs. Bontzen's withdrawal from this project is an example of putting administrative convenience ahead of the needs of the children.

The needs of the children are easy to neglect in any institution that deals with them. Children are small, not always very influential in the community, and are immature, and so it is easy to blame them if they are dissatisfied or in trouble. Budgets, job position descriptions, and incident reports are much easier for us to see in the course of our administrative work, but if our whole big structure of schools and hospitals is to have any use at all, we must keep our eyes on what is best for the children.

It seems to me that this need is particularly great in Indian education. Not only are we dealing with children but with children who are faced with making a jump from one way of life to another. If the children are to learn anything, they must feel confident that they have been entrusted to people who want to take good care of them and who have the ability and the time to do so. I think this is the most important job in education. Half of mankind must make the same jump as our Indian students if we are ever to get out of the trouble we are in everywhere in the world, and the world watches us to see how much help we can be to our own American children who come from another culture. We will never succeed without great effort and we will never succeed if we try to fit the children into some preselected cultural niche of our choosing. But by valuing each child and providing good care for him we can help him to want to learn what he needs to learn and to become the kind of person that he himself finds is best for him to be; so that he can make his own unique contribution to humanity.

## INNOVATIONS IN INDIAN EDUCATION, TUBA CITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, TUBA CITY, ARIZ.

(By Hadley Thomas)

The faculty and administrators of the Tuba City Elementary School, feeling dissatisfaction with the way traditional teaching methods met student needs, decided to make changes in the school program, the curriculum, and the school's organization. They felt that the proper changes would enable them to handle their important problems better, and that by changing the old patterns of their activities and the content of their curriculum, they could teach the individual student more effectively.

### BASIC PROBLEMS

Many of the students have a limited background in the use of English, and very different social and cultural experiences from those of most English-speaking children. Consequently, the school needs grouping in more subject content areas than just reading; for example, in arithmetic, science, social studies, and spelling. Many of the Indian students need adult help at all times, even with what are usually independent types of activities.

Teacher strengths in different areas and special skills were going unused, and the teacher had to spend too much time in duties of a routine, noneducational nature; duties such as making lunch reports, filling out registers, supervising yard activities, and grading papers. Specialized teaching materials for developing pupil skill in oral English were needed, but the teachers lacked time for preparing them.

Closer home-school relations for many Indian students were needed; but the teachers did not feel they could visit the homes of some students, and the parents would not come to the school.

Families of the students needed a better understanding of the school's health program, and the nurse needed to be able to go to the homes of pupils who had problems in regard to health.

### THE REORGANIZATION

It was decided to go into a team teaching program in the first three grades, with two teachers and a teacher aide to work with each group of fifty to fifty-five students in a double-room area.

Funds to put up a building for such a program were not available. Consequently, it was necessary to remodel the existing facilities to create the double-room areas required. This was done by removing the partitions between two adjacent classrooms; cabinets were built for dividers, and special audio-visual equipment was purchased for each unit.

This remodeling gave a basic space of 24 feet by 62 feet for each team to teach in. Half of each such area is used for large group instruction. The other half is divided by a book case and cabinets into two equal-sized small areas for small group instruction.

The large area of the unit has space to seat all students assigned to the team. The teacher aide usually works in this portion of the room, helping children with their independent activities, while the teachers work with selected groups in the small areas.

Each teacher on the team takes a group of children, from one to as many as twenty-five, into one of the small areas. There she works with that group according to the children's needs.

Thus, the new room organization permits the student to receive individual attention at all times. In the small group areas they receive individual attention from the teacher and the instruction suited to their needs. In the large group areas, they work independently but receive help and support from the teacher aide. The children are, consequently, constantly given the opportunity to learn at their own speed and level.

The teachers can now group the students for all subjects and activities in optimum-sized groups and in any one of the special areas for instruction. The teachers themselves can teach in the areas of their strength. One teacher may work in language arts while the other member of the team teaches science and arithmetic.

Since the teachers are relieved of non-instructional duties by the aides' taking of the roll, grading of papers, making out of reports, running off of ditto work, etc., the teachers have time for more thorough preparation of each day's work and for overall planning to achieve the long range goals of the system.

The most important aspect of the team teaching unit is the daily planning, which is done by the teachers of a team and their aide. During the planning period, each member of the team plans her activities for the coming day so that each person knows what is expected of her and how it relates to the work of the others. The materials that will be needed for the following day are planned for and prepared so that the work will go smoothly and effectively. Teacher time is thus planned to be used in full, and the aide can take students to the library or the cafeteria, handle yard duty, set up visual aids equipment or supervise students doing independent work as needed.

With three persons functioning simultaneously, the three areas of the team teaching classroom are used to the full. Each area is equipped with visual aid screens and blackout curtains for the use of a 16mm movie projector, a 35mm filmstrip projector, and an 8mm movie projector. These visual aids are to be found in each team-teaching classroom. There is also a tape recorder, a record player, and a language consolette in each team's room.

### UNGRADED ROOMS

There are always a few students in each grade level who give no indication of academic progress during the school year. These students from the first, second, and third grades were identified by the teachers, the nurse, the principal, and by means of tests and were then placed in special, nongraded classes. In each class there were twenty-five to twenty-seven students, one teacher, and one teacher aide. The students were given a special program of studies. Those who made normal progress academically for a year under this arrangement were returned to regular teaching units at the end of the year.

Several of the students chosen for nongraded classes received psychological evaluations in an attempt to identify those with learning problems. The earlier the identification in a student's life, the better.

### HOME VISITOR AIDES

In addition to classroom teacher aides, home visitor aides were employed by the school. They make home-school contact with the traditional Indian families by visiting homes, taking teachers to visit the parents, and bringing parents to the school.

By their work, they have opened an avenue of communication that did not exist before. Many parents who have come to school with the aides (both men) had never been to the school. Teachers, with the aides, visited homes that had never had a teacher in them. Parents feel that they now have a voice in the school, a voice which they lacked before. Similarly, the teachers feel that they can reach families quite inaccessible before.

### NURSE'S AIDE

The school nurse needed someone who spoke Navajo to help her with the school health program; so a nurse's aide was employed. She helps to interpret health concepts to students, to families, and to the community at large. She also assists the nurse in the school office by caring for sores, cuts and scratches, etc.

### MATERIALS PREPARATION CENTER

Because many of the materials needed for the new program are of a very special nature, they are not readily available from commercial sources. This means that the teachers themselves must develop the materials and need a special room with equipment for materials preparation. The use of aides for non-teaching duties gives the teachers time for the preparation of materials.

The materials preparation center was originally a teacher's lounge and storeroom. The room now contains a darkroom, a tape production room, and a general production area, where there are duplicating machines, laminating machines, and typewriters. The center is used solely for producing materials needed in the classroom.

### LEARNING RESOURCES CENTER

In order to supplement programs, a film library, a filmstrip library, and varied resources materials were incorporated into the elementary school library. The teachers can now go to this one place to get all films, filmstrips, transparencies, pictures, reference books, language tapes, records, professional books, and children's books for any unit in a subject field.

A librarian aide was employed to gather unit materials, check out books to the students, and care for the center. She works closely with the teacher and teacher aides.

### COMMUNICATION CENTER

This center was planned to meet the needs of the students in oral English. They require much oral drill, hearing the teacher, having her hear them, and hearing themselves. The communications center is a 36 station language laboratory with multiple programming devices and visual projectors. This equipment permits visual presentation in conjunction with the use of tapes. Classes are scheduled to use the center daily.

### RESULTS OF THE REORGANIZATION

The present organization has produced the following discernible benefits:

The students in team units get constant individual help from an adult.

Small group instruction is presented in a number of subject areas rather than just in reading.

Teachers, being freed of non-teaching duties, now concentrate on teaching.

There is strong daily planning in the team units.

The student receives instruction, from more than one teacher, in the teacher's areas of special strength.

The student, through daily association with three adults, identifies with at last one, if not all of them.

Test results show good academic growth in different areas. More students in each grade level are closer to the national norm on standardized achievement tests.

Attendance is higher than in any previous year. Students don't want to miss school.

Children with special learning problems are being identified methodically, at an earlier age.

There are closer home-school relationships. More teachers are visiting student homes, and more Indian parents are coming to the school.

Teachers are making specialized teaching materials, such as filmstrips, slides, language tapes, pictures, etc., and are using them in their teaching.

Resource materials are being used more effectively in daily programs.

For more detailed information write to: Tuba City Elementary School, Tuba City, Arizona 86045.

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## Social and Cultural Considerations in the Development of Manpower Programs for Indians

(A paper delivered at the National Conference on Manpower Programs for Indians, held in Kansas City, Missouri, February 16, 1967 by William H. Kelly, Director, Bureau of Ethnic Research, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.)

It has been my experience in Arizona that if you want a job you can get special attention and special services from the Arizona State Employment Office by identifying yourself as an Indian. Whoever you talk to will bend over backwards and even break some rules to put you to work.

One of the men most highly respected by Indians in Arizona was James Roark. in all the years he served as head of the Arizona Employment Office, I never knew him to miss an opportunity to attend a meeting or a conference on Indian affairs. Indian leaders paid attention to what he had to say because he understood their special problems and because he was both realistic and sympathetic. Charles A. Boyle and his department heads have inherited and carried forward this tradition, and I do not doubt that this holds true in other states since it has obviously been the policy of the United States Employment Service to make an extra effort where Indians are concerned.

It is my assignment to speak of some social and cultural considerations in the development of manpower programs for Indians. I am taking the liberty, therefore, of addressing myself to some problems that lie behind the employment office contact experience with Indian workers.

First, I am going to suggest that the Bureau of Indian Affairs' use and interpretation of the word "unemployed", and their approach to the "unemployment problem" thus conceived, has obscured some fundamental problems of Indian adjustment.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, for many years, has talked of the "unemployed" as being all those Indians under their jurisdiction who are not disabled, not in school or in an institution, or who do not work during most weeks and months of the year. Under this system of classification, perhaps half of the adult male Indian population can be classed as unemployed. And when a man is declared to be unemployed, the thing to do is to put him to work, and the way to put him to work is to develop irrigation systems and cattle ranges on the reservations, or to relocate him in some city where wage work is available or, most recently, to push programs of resources development and industrial development on and near Indian land. Such programs reach only the elite and the steady workers.

The whole business is heartwarming, thoroughly American, acceptable to Congress, but not much help to the Indians. This is because economic solutions have been applied to a problem which is basically social and psychological.

There are three broad classes of adult Indians: (1) The elite. The relatively small number who are well adjusted, educated, and fully employed. (2) The workers. Well over half the total male population 14 years of age and older. This group includes the full time workers, the part workers and, at any given time, the relatively few who are unemployed. (3) The idle. This group far outnumbers the unemployed and include, along with some of the "workers", the chronically underemployed.

Although the Indian situation represents special problems, the two main groups above, the "workers" and the "idle", are well recognized in the United States Census and Bureau of Labor Statistics reports. When the U.S.E.S. designates a person as being unemployed they mean by this that he is, as measured by objective criteria, looking for work and willing and able to work. The concept is thus a measure of the economy and not of the psychological or social condition of the Indian.

This is not the case with the Indian Service. It would appear that through a semantic device, by calling something "unemployment" when it is not unemployment, they have swept their real problems under the rug and out of sight. The Bureau of Indian Affairs devotes a significant share of its time, talents and money on programs designed to create work for Indians who are not in the labor force. I know of no single program designed specifically to deal with the enormously complex problems of the "idle" segment of the Indian population.

According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, from 40 to 50 percent of American Indians are "unemployed". The following statement is from a speech delivered in Chicago in February, 1964 by the former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dr. Philleo Nash: "Let me tell you how poor Indians are: Unemployment on the reservations runs between 40 and 50 percent—seven or eight times the national average". In testimony before the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States Senate in 1963, the Bureau of Indian Affairs filed the following statement: "Because it would be unrealistic to measure the need for employment on the reservations by the number of Indians actively seeking work without success, the Bureau has used another definition of unemployment. Our estimates of unemployment are based on labor force estimates that includes all Indians of working age who are neither unemployed because of physical or mental handicaps nor unavailable for employment because of enrollment in school, of family responsibilities, or of early retirement. The resulting survey, the first to be made simultaneously of all reservations, indicated a labor force of about 120,000, slightly more than half of whose members were employed. Half of the employment, in turn, was of temporary nature".

Not 50 percent, not 30 percent, not even ten percent of the Indians in the United States are unemployed. This does not mean that the Indians are not in trouble. They are in plenty of trouble, but the descriptive words are idleness and social maladjustment.

My statement needs support. In the 1960 U.S. Census, slightly more than nine percent of 163,337 Indian males in this country were designated as being unemployed.[1] In the same census slightly more than seven percent of the Papago and Pima Indian males of southern Arizona were defined as unemployed. In a 1964 study of Papago employment conducted by the Bureau of Ethnic Research of the University of Arizona, less than four percent of Papago males were found to be unemployed. The small percentage of unemployed found in our study results, I am sure, from the special care we took to determine whether or not a man was actually in or out of the labor force for a given period.

This is the magnitude—9, 7, and 4 percent—of an economic problem that can and should be met by economic measures.

The segment of the Indian population in social and psychological trouble is materially larger. In the same 1960 census report, 23 percent of all Indian males were tabulated as being outside the labor force and not in school or in an institution. These are the idle and the physically and mentally disabled. The 1964 Papago survey records 26 percent of adult males in this category of whom 14 percent were idle and 12 percent disabled or over age.[2] This is the highest percentage of idle men found in any ethnic group in this country.

There are two principal classes of Indian males who are listed as "idle" in any employment survey—one class diminishing and the other expanding. The diminishing group, mostly reservation residents, is made up of the less acculturated men who are attempting to live by Indian values in the face of rapid economic change. *They are reasonably well adjusted,* spend a great deal of time in social and ceremonial activities, and scrounge a living from their kinsmen and neighbors, and by engaging in occasional farm work, or running a few head of cattle.

*The expanding group* is made up of the men who are torn between Indian values and the Indian way of life and the demands of modern avenues for self employment or wage work. They live on and off the reservations, seek work only sporadically, drink too much and at the wrong time, and come and go with little regard for their family and community responsibilities. The psychological nature of the situation in which these maladjusted men find themselves has been pointed out by Jack Waddell as follows:

". . . the most unstable and undependable . . . were those who could use English well, those who have extended exposure to schools and vocational programs, and those who comprehended the meaning of certain Anglo values. These seem to be among those most prone to job-jumping and voluntary unemployment. Much of it can be attributed to age and an unreadiness to feel obliged to settle down, but much of the behavior can be explained in terms of dissonance or the inability to articulate the understanding they have of Anglo cultural values with a sufficient motivation to implement these values." [3]

I have said not one thing that is not known, explicitly or implicitly, to the field men of the United States Employment Service. To my knowledge they have taken these factors into account and have paid special attention to the task of moving their Indian clients into the labor force. Work with Indians obviously emphasizes unusual placement measures and, even more, the testing, counseling, vocational training, and job development aspects of the Employment Service operation.

But this is not enough, and there is little or nothing that I know about that the U.S.E.S. can do about it. The majority of American Indians, obviously, are reaching for their own version of American life and this very definitely does not include the repudiation of their Indian heritage and it does not include assimilation.

If we accept this fact, and the fact of maladjustment that seems to stem from a refusal to assimilate, the problem of the American Indian is placed in an entirely new perspective. The problem is biculturalism and neither the Indians nor federal agencies, nor anyone else really, understand the first thing about this problem. To become bilingual is no great task. Neither is it difficult to be bicultural when the two cultures trace to a common source, such as the Judeo-Christian tradition. The difficult task is to live simultaneously with parts and pieces of two entirely different sets of cognitive orientations and values. For example: you learn in one culture that man and nature are one, and that man must learn to live with nature. In the next culture you learn that man and nature are worlds apart, and that man must dominate nature. In one culture you learn that the supernatural is both good and evil and that the supernatural gives and withdraws health, crops and fertility. In the next culture you learn that germs cause disease, hybrid corn seed determines the amount of a crop, and that a little pill controls fertility. I could go on without end. But it does not end for the Indian. The problem of reconciliation goes on every day and every hour, and even the most sophisticated Indian is forever battling for cognitive control and for a sense of unity in the universe, and especially in the universe of social relations, which you and I take for granted and to which we never give a thought.

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[1] U.S. Census of Population, 1960, Non-White Population by Race, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1963.

[2] Harland Padfield, Papago Employment Study, unpublished manuscript, Bureau of Ethnic Research, University of Arizona, Tucson.

[3] Jack Waddell, Adaptation of Papago Workers to Off-Reservation Occupations, Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1966.

The results is confusion, bewilderment, discouragement and anger. The Indian, in fact, being unaware of the causes of his difficulty, escapes the pressure through idleness, erratic work habits, alcoholism and apathy.

When one culture in the bicultural mix is as dominant as the Anglo culture, a byproduct of the loss of cognitive control is a negative self image. Only within the last year or two has this problem been attacked in any organized fashion, and, I predict, the work will be a forerunner to studies and experiments aimed at methods for securing a normal bicultural adjustment.

The programs I refer to have been established by Robert Roessel in a new experimental school at Rough Rock on the Navajo Reservation and Father John F. Bryde in an equally new program at the Pine Ridge Mission School in the Sioux country of South Dakota.

At Rough Rock, the Bureau of Indian Affairs in association with the Office of Economic Opportunity, is permitting Dr. Roessel to create a revolutionary school and community development program. The philosophy of this school is that it is possible to teach Indians to live in dignity as Indians while participating in, and enjoying the benefits of, the American economic system. Indian leaders teach the history and folklore of Navajo life. Indian values and the Navajo language are taught side by side with the ABC's and the new math. Indian children are taught that the Indian way, however outmoded, is worthy in its own right and not the shabby product of ignorant primitives as most Americans view it. The school board is composed of five Navajo Indians who, having personal experience with biculturalism, may have the perspective that will help Dr. Roessel frame a curriculum that will not destroy the cognitive control these youngsters possessed when they entered the first grade.

Dr. Roessel and Father Bryde may or may not be on the right track from the point of view of psychological theory. At least they are trying to get at the root of the problem of Indian employment. The U.S.E.S. knowing the differences between Indians and non-Indians, because they work with both, could help clarify the Indian problem and perhaps lend its weight toward an all-out attack on Indian idleness which, I contend, is a normal response to the abnormal situation in which the Indians find themselves.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. The Special Subcommittee on Indian Education will be in recess.

(Whereupon, the subcommittee recessed at 3 p.m. subject to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

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Excerpts From

# *Formal Education and Culture Change*

# A MODERN APACHE INDIAN COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Edward A. Parmee

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA PRESS
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*This book is dedicated to every man, woman and youth who would seek to make this world a better place for all mankind to live in; and to Ed Morrow, an educator with heart, who died trying.*

## CHAPTER 3

# *The Problems of Apache Youth in School*

FOR MORE THAN TEN YEARS, Apache students living on the San Carlos Reservation have been exposed to three major types of school systems: federal, public, and mission schools, with separate schools operating independently within each system.

I. *Public Schools:*

- a) Globe School District (serving the San Carlos community) (206)*
  - 1) East Globe Elementary—Apaches attending grades 5 and 6
  - 2) Hill Street Jr. High—Apaches attending grades 7 and 8
  - 3) Globe High School—Apaches attending grades 9-12
- b) Ft. Thomas School District (serving the Bylas community) (121)
  - 1) Ft. Thomas Elementary — Apaches attending grades 1-6
  - 2) Ft. Thomas Jr. High and High School—Apaches attending grades 7-12
- c) Rice School District (serving the San Carlos community) (50)
  - 1) Rice Public School—Apaches attending grades 1-4

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*The figures in ( ), denoting Apache student enrollment, were compiled during the winter of the 1959-60 school year from current school records. These figures varied throughout the school year because of mid-year transfers.

II. *Federal Schools:*
  a) Reservation Day Schools: (426)
    1) San Carlos Day School—Apaches attending grades Beginners-4
    2) Bylas Day School—Apaches attending grades Beginners-4
  b) Off-Reservation Boarding Schools: (184)
    1) Phoenix Indian School—Apaches eligible to attend grades 7-12
    2) Stewart Indian School—Apaches eligible to attend tend grades 7-12
    3) Theodore Roosevelt Boarding School—Apaches eligible to attend grades 1-8
    4) Sherman Institute—Apaches eligible to attend grades 1-12
III. *Mission Schools:*
  a) Reservation Day Schools (152)
    1) Peridot Lutheran Mission School—teaching grades 1-12
    2) Bylas Lutheran Mission School—teaching grades 1-12
  b) Off-Reservation Boarding Schools (65)
    1) East Fork Lutheran Mission School—teaching grades 1-12
    2) St. John's Catholic Mission School — teaching grades 5-12
    3) Southwest Indian School (Glendale Mission School)—teaching grades 1-12

The federal reservation day schools were owned and operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education. The local reservation principal maintained an office at the San Carlos BIA Agency and functioned as a kind of school superintendent, overseeing the programs of each individual federal school on the reservation. These schools, one each at San Carlos and Bylas at the time, were separately staffed with a school principal, teachers, custodians, bus drivers, and cafeteria workers.

Tribal law required all Apache children to enter school at least by the age of six. At this age, most enrolled in the two federal reservation day schools, where "Beginners" classes were held to teach the non-English-speaking Apache children some rudiments of English, and to acquaint them with the basic patterns of school life. After the fourth grade, however, students were transported each day to the off-reservation public schools at Globe or Ft. Thomas, or they were sent directly to any one of a number of federal boarding schools, far from the reservation environs.

One of the primary responsibilities of the reservation principal was to select eligible Apache students for boarding schools. At San Carlos the applications, usually submitted by the family of each child, had to have the approval of the BIA social worker, the reservation principal, and the agency superintendent. Briefly summarized, the criteria for the selection of boarding school enrollees was stated as follows:

Education Criteria:

1) no other school is available
2) where special vocational or preparatory courses are necessary
3) scholastically retarded students, or those with severe bilingual problems

Social Criteria:

1) neglected or rejected children
2) children from inadequate home environments
3) children with extreme behavior problems
4) children whose health is jeopardized by the illness of household members

(Bureau of Indian Affairs 1956:2)

Each federal boarding school had its own special education programs, ranging from the academic to the more vocational aspects of training. Each was run by a separate administrative and teaching staff, and operated independently from reservation directives. Coordination between the federal boarding schools and the federal reservation education system was managed through annual conferences of school administrators, and supervised through the Washington and regional area offices. Most of the federal boarding schools provided academic and vocational training up through the twelfth grade.

Upon fulfillment of the fourth grade requirements, however, most Apache youngsters remained at home, to be transported daily to the off-reservation public schools. At the time of this study, these schools were owned and operated by the local district tax payers, who lived off the reservation, and who were for the most part non-Indians. The schools functioned after the pattern of many Arizona public schools, with elected school boards (all non-Indians in 1961) functioning independently from any reservation authority. Criticism from BIA officials, however, was usually keenly attended to because the overwhelming majority of funds for the support of the Apache children in the public schools came as a result of federal legislation, over which higher BIA echelons had some influence.

Globe Public Schools provided a part-time guidance counselor for Indian students. It was his job to help with the adjustment of the Indian students into the school routine by providing extra attention and extra assistance when necessary. At Ft. Thomas, the smaller of the two public school systems, the high school principal devoted a part of his time to the problems of the Indian students to make up for the lack of a special counselor.

Remedial reading courses were established in both school programs and many Apaches were encouraged to take them. Federal subsidies provided free lunches to all Indian students in public school, but high school Indian students had to purchase their own books and supplies as did all non-Indians. However, assistance from a variety of sources was usually found for needy cases through the cooperation of public, federal, and tribal agencies.

The mission schools had another education program of their own. In addition to the day schools at Bylas and Peridot, the Lutherans also maintained a boarding school at East Fork on the Ft. Apache Reservation. Catholic Apaches wishing to send their children to a parochial school usually sent them to St. John's Indian School in Laveen, Arizona, for there were no Catholic mission day schools on the San Carlos Reservation. At the time of this study, however, hopes were high among parishioners that a school would be built in the foreseeable future.

Contact between the mission schools and the other two school systems was limited. The strict policy of church and state separation prohibited federal aid to the mission school program, even to the extent that needy mission students found it difficult to get assistance for books and clothing. As federal aid to public education increased over the years, Apache parents found it advantageous to transfer their children from the mission schools in order to get money for educational expenses.

In the spring of 1958, prior to this study, the San Carlos tribal chairman appointed his newly elected vice-chairman to head the tribal education committee. By this action it was hoped that new impetus would be given to what BIA officials saw as a growing Apache interest in the education of their people.* It was the purpose of this committee to:

1) encourage parental interest in education by acting as a sounding-board for complaints and providing useful assistance, e.g., educational loans
2) sponsor constructive extra-curricular activities for Apache students, and other educational projects, e.g., local newspaper
3) help coordinate different programs of educational aid to parents and children, e.g., Save the Children Federation
4) inform agencies of control, such as the tribal council, BIA education offices, public schools, etc., of the people's needs.
5) inform the people of new programs, regulations, and benefits provided for educational purposes by the controlling agencies

The Apache tribal council also provided the services of one or more juvenile officers to combat truancy and delinquency and to counsel with parents and students experiencing educational difficulties. Since their appointment to this position was generally based upon an ability to get along with children and a position of high regard among Apaches and Anglos alike, these officers were frequently called upon to assist in matters where the normal Anglo channels of communication had failed.

This completes a review of the major components in the program of Apache education.* A critical analysis of their contributions to this program will come later in a more specific discussion of problems and underlying causes. The following section will deal with some of the indices that were used in this study to measure the relative success—or failure—of Apache students to respond to formal education as it was presented between 1959 and 1961.

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*From a conversation with the BIA reservation superintendent.

## School Enrollment, 1949-1961

Available records† for this twelve year period indicated that the enrollment of Apache school-age children remained well above the 90% mark. From this standpoint, at least, it can be said that the school program had been successful in reaching out into nearly every household on the reservation. This was not true twenty or thirty years ago when many Apache parents hid their children from the school disciplinary officer who came to take them away to boarding school.

This high rate of school enrollment among Apache children was due to at least two factors, revealed from the observations and interviews of this study:

1) There was a growing willingness on the part of most Apache parents to have their children enrolled in school; and
2) there was a persistent effort on the part of Anglo and Indian reservation officials to see that the streets were kept free of delinquent school children.

The greater part of the small minority of unenrolled Apache school-age children was found to consist primarily of drop-outs, for whom school work had become such an impossibility that much of the academic year was lost and would have to be repeated.

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*It should be noted here that the tiny Rice Public School at San Carlos has been omitted from this discussion. This is because it played a rather insignificant role in the education of Apaches. It was a school maintained primarily for the convenience of San Carlos BIA agency personnel, who did not care to send their grammar school children into Globe because of the long bus ride each day. BIA personnel were not allowed to enroll their children in the local federal school. Rice School at Gilson Wash was finally closed down in 1961 when San Carlos Day School was turned into a cooperative federal-public school.

†Combined BIA Agency and project reports.

Attitudes toward the enrollment of Beginners (pre-first graders) were indicative of the overall feeling on the part of Apache parents and school officials about school enrollment. In 1960 it was rare indeed to find a primary school-age Apache child roaming freely out of school for any length of time. More frequently than not, such an occurence happened through an oversight or error in the agency records rather than through intentional resistance on the part of the parents. As soon as the error was discovered, it was swiftly corrected and the child was enrolled in school. Thus, by keeping in contact with reservation families through the variety of tribal, BIA, and U.S. Public Health services, and by maintaining an up-to-date census record of the total population, school officials were able to keep close tabs on all potential students.

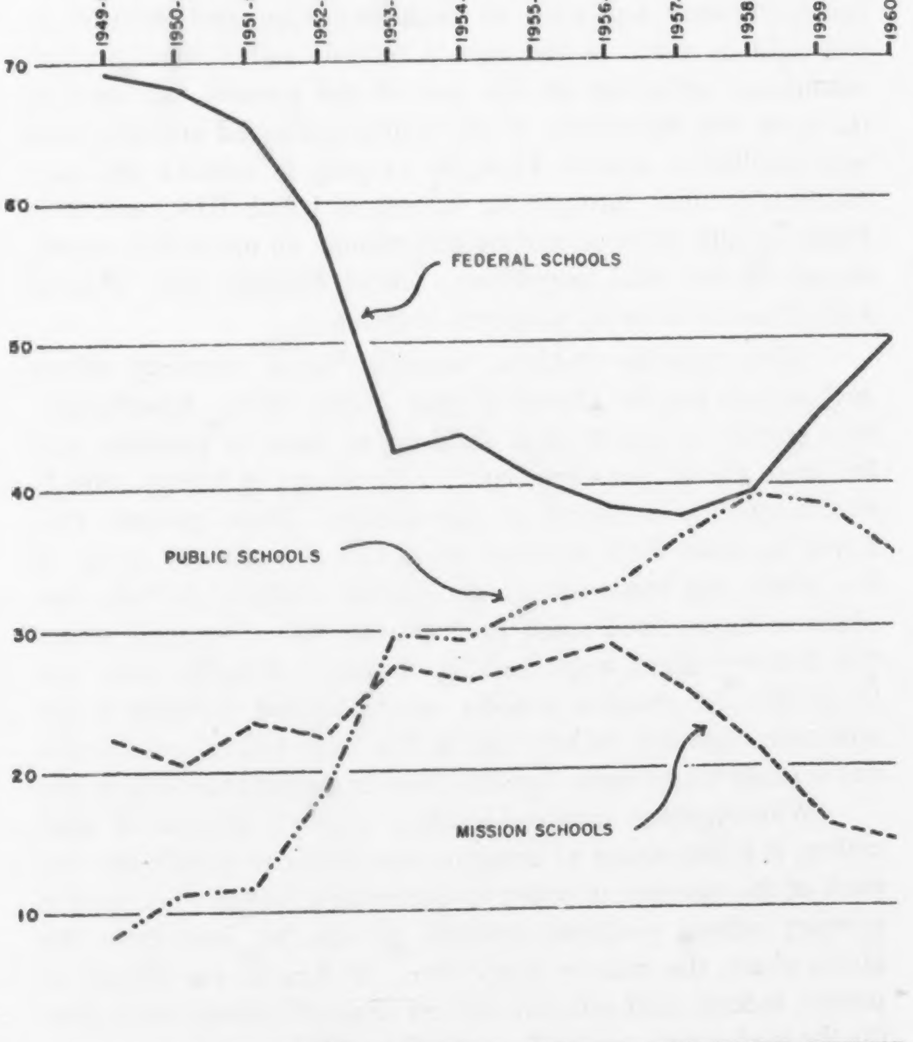
Most Apache children, however, upon reaching school age, seldom got the chance to play hooky. Many Apache parents sought to enroll their children as soon as possible, and for some the six year age limit for Beginners in federal schools was frequently a source of aggravation. These parents preferred to have their children begin this pre-primary grade at five years, the same age as non-Indian children. In fact, this observer interviewed some parents who felt so strongly about this that they made a special effort to enroll their five year olds in public and mission schools where limited facilities made admission difficult, rather than in the large federal reservation day schools where most Apache children began their education.

With Apaches involved in three separate systems of education, it is important to compare the trends in enrollment for each of the systems in order to understand where some of the primary school problems existed. As can be seen from the above chart, the relative proportions of Apache enrollment in public, federal, and mission schools changed considerably during the twelve year period from 1949 to 1961.

Whereas in 1949 the great majority of Apache students (69.3%) were attending federally operated day and boarding schools, the proportion of Apaches in both federal and public schools was almost equal by 1959, ten years later. Mission school enrollment increased only slightly between the years

## San Carlos Apaches in Public, Federal And Mission Schools, 1949-1961

Comparative Percentages of Total Enrollment



| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PUBLIC | 8.4 | 11.2 | 11.8 | 18.7 | 29.9 | 29.4 | 31.8 | 32.7 | 36.2 | 39.2 | 38.9 | 35.1 |
| FEDERAL | 69.3 | 68.2 | 65.8 | 58.8 | 42.5 | 43.8 | 40.5 | 38.4 | 37.9 | 39.1 | 45.1 | 50.1 |
| MISSION | 22.2 | 20.6 | 23.2 | 22.4 | 27.5 | 26.1 | 27.6 | 28.8 | 25.8 | 21.6 | 16.0 | 14.8 |

(SOURCES: B.I.A. ANNUAL SCHOOL CENSUS REPORTS FROM THE SAN CARLOS AGENCY)

1949 to 1954, but this period did witness a tremendous shift in enrollment between the federal and public schools, as the federal reservation day schools liquidated their upper grades and the children moved into public off-reservation day schools primarily at Globe and Ft. Thomas. Between 1954 and 1959, the enrollment in federal schools continued to decline as the public school rolls increased, until by 1959—as has been mentioned—their respective shares of the entire student population were almost equal. The mission schools reached their peak in 1956 with 28.8% of the total, but after 1957 they experienced a sharp reduction in students. The enrollment in public schools also declined after 1959, as federal school enrollment increased.

The principal factors influencing these trends appeared to be circumstantial rather than preferential as far as Apaches were concerned. In the 1950's federal policies towards Indians, as previously stated in Chapter 1, were in favor of assimilating all Indians into the greater Anglo society. The situation described by the twelve year survey presented here shows a clear example of the implementation of these policies.

Between 1949 and 1953 the Bureau of Indian Affairs decided to close down its community high schools at Bylas and San Carlos in favor of the integration policies of Washington lawmakers. Since integration could not be achieved to any notable extent within reservation boundaries because there were so few White children living there, the off-reservation public school systems at Globe and Ft. Thomas were requested to accept Apache students. Money provided by the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1936 was used to help the public schools offset their increased expenses brought on by this sudden rise in enrollment.*

Between 1953 and 1955 a further step was taken to increase the proportion of Apaches in public schools, when the 7th and 8th grades at San Carlos and Bylas were eliminated. Finally, in 1957, the 5th and 6th grades were closed out and sent to off-reservation public schools. From that year until

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*For a complete discussion of the Johnson-O'Malley Act provisions, see the report of the Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs, *Federal and State Participation in Indian Education*, 1961-1962, Phoenix, pp. 14-18.

1961, only the first five years of school—Beginners through 4th grade—remained active on the reservation at Bylas and San Carlos in the federal day schools.

Although the mission schools never achieved more than 28% of the total student enrollment during the twelve year period, they did experience a decline after 1956. There is reason to believe that this decline can be attributed in part to the rising influence of the Pentacostal churches at that time. As the popularity of this new kind of religion grew, the older reservation missions, sponsored by the Lutherans and the Catholics, began to lose their parishioners. Support of the mission schools was costly, since they did not enjoy federal and state assistance. Lutheran mission policymakers finally decided that only the children of their most loyal parishioners could attend the mission schools, and as a result, some students were compelled to go elsewhere.

It would be misleading to conclude from the high enrollment figures stated that school enrollment per se was no longer a problem for the San Carlos Apaches. An analysis of attendance records (see below) showed that mid-year transfers were prevalent throughout the entire program. This was discovered when efforts to compile complete individual student attendance records for the 1959-60 school year were thwarted by so many incomplete school records. For example, a child would enroll in one day school in September, then transfer to boarding school in November. After the Christmas holidays, his name might again show up on the rolls of the previous day school, where—perhaps—he would finish out the year.

This erratic migration of students was enough to disrupt a sizeable number of individual student attendance records, but no exact figure could be determined for transfers alone. Nevertheless, for whatever the reason—transfers, dropouts, or data errors—it can be said that during the 1959-60 school year, 392 out of 1174 students enrolled in day schools did not complete their year's study at the school in which they were originally enrolled.*

The observations of the author, while working with school officials in various capacities, tended to support the statistical evidence above. Several times each week, the reservation principal was confronted by some unhappy parent or student seeking a transfer from one school to another. Parents having disciplinary problems with their children at home would seek to have them sent to boarding school. Students experiencing difficulty in adjusting to one school would ask to be sent to another. Families seeking employment off the reservation, wherever and whenever it was available, would take their children with them. Mid-year transfers were not only indicative of student problems, but the high rate of such transfers was also a recognizable factor in contributing to the failure of many to meet the expected academic standards for educational progress.

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*Apache enrollment figures for 1959-60 are listed in ( ) on pages 24, 25 and 26.

## Daily Attendance in School

By their very nature boarding schools tended to eliminate any attendance problems. Apache teen-agers enrolled in such schools had little opportunity to play hooky in such a highly controlled environment where teachers, supervisors and a variety of counselors and attendants were continually watching over their students. The few who did manage to elude supervision, or who openly defied it, were swiftly and firmly reprimanded. Thus, the discussion of Apache teen-age attendance will be based primarily on public high school records.*

Public school officials at Globe and Ft. Thomas kept monthly attendance records for Apache students primarily because of the need to present daily enrollment totals each year to the federal government for cost reimbursement through the Johnson-O'Malley program. From these materials, the research staff of this study compiled individual student attendance records for every Apache enrolled 150 days or more in the same school during the 1959-60 school year. Interviews with teachers and school officials assisted in the formulation of an "attendance scale" to which the completed individual records could be applied. This scale consisted of the following categories:

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*The small number of Apache teen-age students attending the mission day schools does not warrant the inclusion of their figures in the data presented here, nor will their exclusion in any way change the validity of the findings.

1) Perfect Attendance: 0.0% absence for the year
2) Good Attendance: 0.1-4.9% absence for the year, or up to 1 day's absence every 4 weeks
3) Fair Attendance: 5.0-9.9% absence for the year, or up to 2 days' absence every 4 weeks
4) Danger Zone: 10.0-14.9% absence for the year, or up to 3 days' absence every 4 weeks
5) Poor Attendance: 15.0-19.9% absence for the year, or up to 1 day's absence every week
6) Inadequate Attendance for Normal Scholastic Progress: includes all categories of 20% absence for the year or higher. Most students missing 1 day a week from school or more were considered unlikely to be able to keep up with the rest of the class in school.

At Globe High School, the records showed that 68% of the enrolled (150 days or more) Apache students had either "Fair" or "Good" attendance records, while the remaining 32% had records falling in categories 4, 5, and 6, indicating definite attendance problems. At Ft. Thomas High School, meanwhile, only 47% of the enrolled Apache students had records in the upper three categories. The remaining 53% were missing school to a degree beyond what most teachers and administrators considered to be adequate for normal academic progress.

School officials—both Indian and non-Indian—blamed the higher absence rate among Bylas teen-agers primarily on the accessability of liquor in the Geronimo area, just between Bylas and Ft. Thomas. More than likely, a combination of factors contributed to the problem: 1) reduced recreational facilities within the Bylas community resulting from the loss of the local day school facilities, 2) a greater degree of poverty in Bylas than in San Carlos (although this was apparent, it has yet to be actually proven), and 3) the easy accessibility of liquor to both adults and minors.

By lumping the records of the Apaches from both schools, it can be seen that 42.5% of public high school Apaches missed 2 days or more out of every 20 days of classes: 17.5% missed 2-3 days out of every 20, 9% missed 3-4 days, and 12% missed 4-5 days. Eight per cent of the Apache students at Ft. Thomas High School (none from Globe) missed more than one fourth of the entire academic year. It is also important to note that the enrollment of Apaches in government boarding schools reached an all-time high in 1959-60. This meant that a sizable number of problem cases had been removed from the reservation; had they been in public school, the attendance records for the year would very likely have been much worse.

The extent of the teen-age Apache attendance problem in the off-reservation public schools must also be considered in the light of other factors:

1) Apache high school students in the main were not habitual attendance problems as some school officials at the time believed they were. No less than 67.2% of these students had adequate attendance for the year. A few even had perfect attendance records at Ft. Thomas High School. The problem, then, was not one of rampant proportions; it was limited to an unmistakable core of "repeaters," whose problems were such that they caused the continual interruption of schooling by incurring a high rate of absenteeism.
2) Additional attendance data showed definite trends in the rate of absenteeism. In the on-reservation government day schools for example, where the majority (approx. 340 in 1959-60) of Apache youngsters obtained their schooling up through the fourth grade, as much at 76% of the students had adequate attendance for the year. Some 36 students, in fact, had perfect attendance records. Those Apaches in the public schools, however, the majority of whom were in grades 5 through 8, had the smallest percentage of adequate attendance (56%) for the year.

When used in conjunction with the interview and scholastic data, these differing percentages revealed some understanding of the intensity of school and personal-social Apache problems at different academic and age levels. It seemed evident that those Apache students leaving the reservation day schools to enter grades 5, 6, 7, and 8 at Globe and Ft. Thomas experienced considerable difficulty in adjusting socially and academically to the new, integrated public school system. These problems, combined with their own adolescent growing pains made them the most susceptible to absenteeism.

At the high school level, many of these students continued to suffer from the problems compounded in the lower grades, and their attendance records were indicative of these difficulties in the presence of a more demanding curriculum. Sources in the literature also tend to support this interpretation (Zintz 1960:75 and Boyce 1960:5).

During the interviews with high school Apache students, specific questions were asked about the transition between the on-reservation BIA schools and the public schools. The answers varied. Some students said that they did not like going to the public schools at first because they felt very much in the minority. The non-Indian students appeared cold and unfriendly, and the teachers seemed to pay more attention to the non-Indians.

Other Apache high school students admitted that the sudden change was quite a shock at first, primarily because the classwork was much harder, the competition was greater, and homework was required for the first time. These Apache students had no complaints about their non-Indian peers, other than the fact that they were tough competitors.

All of the high school interviewees remarked about the sudden increase in the educational demands from their teachers when first entering the public schools, but some claimed that they became accustomed to it. Their greatest difficulty, they said, was communication. Not only was it hard to keep up with the pace of the teacher's instructions, but some recalled having difficulty understanding the chatter of their fellow classmates on the playground. This discouraged a number of Apaches from making a greater effort to learn English. During recess, many stayed with groups of their own kind and spoke Apache, experiencing perhaps for the first time the somber reality of their own uniqueness.

3) Perhaps one of the most surprising results from the analysis of attendance was the realization that there was no consistent correlation between good attendance and good scholastic achievement. While poor attendance nearly always coincided with a variety of academic problems and low scholastic achievement, there were also Apache students in the higher grade levels with outstanding daily attendance rates who were doing very poorly in school.

Interviews with some of the public school teachers revealed that such students merely sat in class, physically present, but apparently mentally out of step with the pace of the rest of the class. Their response to classwork and home assignments was barely minimal and at the end of the year they were either held back in class, or if over-aged, "socially promoted" to the next grade. The teachers themselves were baffled as to why such students bothered to come to school regularly in the face of such hopeless prospects. But these were generally the more submissive types of Apache children, who remained stoically silent in the classroom, seldom caused any trouble in school, and who persistently refused to communicate any difficulties to their teachers.

During the fall of 1959, when the author and his interpreter had an opportunity to aid the tribal juvenile officer with his truancy and house-to-house counseling chores, many of the reasons underlying the absentee problem came to light. Several months later, when this particular phase of the project had come to an end, hundreds of homes in the San Carlos and Peridot communities had been visited and personal contacts made with occupant families. The following is a discussion of some of the more significant findings.

## THE "PROBLEM CASES": FAMILY ENVIRONMENT AS A FACTOR IN ABSENTEEISM

The real, so-called "problem cases" comprised a distinct group, a rather constant number who had to be visited time and time again. These students made up about 40% of the total student population but they required a far greater proportion of counseling time, for communication was frequently difficult and good rapport was hard to achieve. The problem seemed not so much one of language as of values and ideas, as well as a basic lack of mutual understanding between the students, their parents, and those in charge of the education program. Out of these families a number of characteristic "types" emerged.

### The "skid-row" family

Families of this type comprised as much as 21% of the sample 100 cases. Counseling with these families very often left one with a feeling of hopelessness. Broken marriages, drinking, moral degeneration, poverty, and complacency were but a few of the obstacles that confronted the counselor and affected the lives of the Apache children belonging to these families. Since many such families had been on "skid-row" for years, hours and hours of repeated talks could do little to alleviate their situation.

In numerous cases the children from these families were hustled off to boarding school to begin what was hoped to be a new and more constructive way of life, assumed feasible in the controlled daily environment found there. But the "skid-row" parents and relatives remained behind, to haunt their children with unhappy letters and phone calls and to prey upon them once again during the summer vacation months. It was not unusual to hear bitter objections from the children of such families when they were forced to return home—perhaps a misnomer—for the summer. Such cases prompted tribal leaders to develop a summer camp program to offer needy students a more stable and constructive environment for at least part of each summer.

### The "sympathetic" family

In such families it was not unusual to find financially well-to-do parents or relatives. One of the dominant characteristics of the sympathetic family seemed to be a strong, somewhat domineering mother or grandmother who sided with her children in almost every dispute. The children of such families generally grew up in an atmosphere of economic stability and social solidarity. Along with the characteristically traditional Apache female authority went a style of family life that was also more traditional.

Hostile attitudes towards the school program, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or towards Anglos in general often came to light when counseling with families of this nature. Old, bitter memories of unhappy experiences added much fuel to their complaints. It should be noted, however, that occasionally when it was possible to patch-up wounded feelings and clear up any misunderstandings, cooperation in school matters from these families could generally be relied upon because of the strong backing of the elder in authority who diligently sought after the welfare of the family. Even the most traditionally-oriented Apache elder confronted by the author was not opposed to education, but rather to the manner in which it was implemented.

### "Weak-authority" families

In such families discipline of the delinquent or unruly child was extremely difficult, for unlike the "sympathetic" family, there was no stable authoritarian figure present. Cooperation in family or school matters prevailed only on occasions of mutual consent between the child and his elders.* Conditions such as these often existed in families where there were weak or infirm foster parents, a helpless widow or divorcee. It was not unusual for an elder in this family to request the aid of some outside authority to help discipline his or her children. The relationship of current Apache disciplinary practices to community law and order enforcement will be discussed later at some length.

In summing up this presentation of the teen-age "problem cases," a category which included the worst attendance offenders, it can be said that the unfortunate nature of the family conditions contributed significantly to the problems of the individual children. Consideration of any solutions to these problems, therefore, necessarily had to include at the very start ways for solving the overriding family difficulties.

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*While many Apache parents, unlike some Anglos, preferred not to interfere with their children's behavior and attitudes, even the most tolerant parents resorted to firm disciplinary measures when they judged the matter too serious to be overlooked.

### ILLNESS AS A FACTOR IN ABSENTEEISM

The reasons given by Apache parents and children for absenteeism were many, but the most prominent of all was "illness." Checking out the absences that were reportedly due to illness uncovered a number of interesting points that indicated some possible differences between Anglos and Apaches. There were, of course, occasions when illness was used as an excuse to cover up the real reasons for the student's absence, but the author's Apache interpreter was usually both clever and honest enough to distinguish such cases from the rest, which were, from the Apache viewpoint, perfectly legitimate cases of illness.

During certain periods of the school year many Apache children, in all age groups and especially those from poverty-stricken homes, became ill. Respiratory illness, trachoma (particularly in the lower grades), and various types of bacterial infections were the most common, causing many absences from school.

Prior to 1961, when Public Health, BIA and tribal services stepped in to improve the situation, the average Apache home consisted of a one-, two-, or three-room house of wood construction with no indoor water and sanitation facilities, no insulation, and only the necessary minimum in heating units: either a wood or kerosene stove. Though the climate could be extremely warm in the summer, temperatures were not infrequently below freezing in winter. Infectious diseases, particularly colds and flu, were prevalent during the winter months, often exhibiting a rapid spread throughout the student population.

It was also not unusual to find a child staying home with what appeared to be only minor discomforts, such as a sore limb or headache, that for most Anglo parents and school officials would not have constituted a legitimate excuse for absence. Apaches, however, generally disagreed with such a viewpoint. In their eyes, such aches and pains were possibly symptomatic of a serious malady, either physical or emotional.

The best remedy was to keep the child at home, comfort him, and watch for any developments. Trying to argue with a parent on the grounds that a simple aspirin would alleviate what was "probably a minor, temporary discomfort" only convinced him or her of your lack of real concern for the child's welfare.

Talking with Apache mothers about illness and disease soon revealed that very few really understood the theory of germs and the fundamentals of modern home medical care. Though few admitted adherence to traditional Apache cures, such as herbs, parts of animals, magic talismans, and ceremonial cures (King 1954: 22), traditional views regarding the phenomenon of illness itself appeared common.

1) Aside from certain recognizable illnesses clearly defined by Anglo doctors—the common cold, trachoma, etc.—less easily identifiable illnesses were thought by Apaches to be the result of some previous violation of traditional Apache religious beliefs or even witchcraft.

2) Fear itself was a kind of illness (Opler 1946: 22) that was believed to be caused by some evil influence. Young children were particularly susceptible and had to be frequently cared for at home by their mothers for this ailment.

3) Illnesses that did not appear to respond to treatment from the local public health doctor were considered to be extremely serious, and probably of spiritual origin. The parent of a child afflicted in this manner might then turn to a respected gotah leader for advice, or go directly to a medicine man. Apaches normally did not expect Anglos to understand or appreciate the seriousness of such illnesses; consequently, the use of traditional cures was almost never discussed with Anglos.*

A certain degree of unfamiliarity with the medical care provided in school for the needs of every child, coupled with the basic conviction that no teacher or school administrator could possibly have the concern for an ailing Apache child the way its mother could, gave most Apache parents ample cause for keeping a sick child home from school. Even among parents who openly professed the importance of education, this strong, protective feeling about their children predominated. Considering the high death rate among Indian children until a few years ago, particularly among infants,* Apache parents might well have had good reason to be so concerned (Goodwin 1942: 453).

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*On one unique occasion the author was approached by a close Apache friend and in secrecy asked if he thought a daughter of his could be cured by a medicine man. The daughter was having serious social adjustment problems. "Everyone has tried in every way to help her," he said, "but nothing seems to help. She won't listen to anyone. It's just like she's crazy in the head, or something. Some people say she's 'witched' and we should take her to a medicine man. But some people don't believe in that kind of stuff any more. What do you think?" My answer was honest but ambiguous. Not being an Apache, I said, made it difficult for me to advise him in such matters. My views might be biased. I told him to speak to some older men of his tribe.

### MISUNDERSTANDINGS AS A CAUSE FOR ABSENTEEISM

Again and again simple misunderstandings were found to be responsible for absenteeism. A high school teen-ager, for example, might come home one afternoon with a problem, perhaps a request of some sort from the school. Since in most Apache families, children were not asked about their daily activities—and few volunteered information on their own—the problem might not come to light until the next morning when it was time to prepare for school. Then the student would voice a bitter complaint against the school and beg to be kept at home for fear of punishment by some teacher or administrator. Unable to cope with the problem at such short notice, or perhaps unable to understand it fully, the puzzled parent, fearing for the safety of the child, kept the child at home.

Counseling with the parent and child revealed in almost every case a rather limited understanding of the facts surrounding the incident and, on the part of the parent, an even more limited understanding of school procedures and policies in general. Usually the incomplete or distorted information that the child had to offer was all that the parent had on which to base his or her decision. The student may have misunderstood the teacher's request, or the teacher may have misunderstood the student's reason for having difficulty in fulfilling that request. This misunderstanding was further complicated when presented to the unknowing parents by the student; and a situation resulted which was sufficient for at least one day's absence, and possibly more if not attended to that day.

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*Indian infant mortality rate in mid-1950's was 275 per 1000 births. U.S. population figures were 28 per 1000 births.

A prompt clearing of the confusion through the aid and diplomacy of the tribal juvenile officer seldom failed to get the child back in school immediately. Often further problems of a similar nature were avoided because of the brief learning experience provided the parent through a counseling session.

### THE EFFECTS OF SHAME AND SCHOOL DISCIPLINE ON ABSENTEEISM

It was not unusual to find an Apache child at home because an unhappy incident in school had caused him to feel embarrassed and ashamed. Such incidents created highly emotional situations necessitating the most sensitive handling on the part of the counselor or intermediary. They occurred most frequently in the integrated public schools, where old racial antagonisms and poor family-school communications tended to complicate and distort the real issues at hand. The inevitable misunderstandings were difficult to iron out under such conditions, and as often as not the outcome would find the angry and humiliated parents insisting on transferral of their child to another school. The following actual incident should help to illustrate this discussion.

Emily Alberta (fictitious name) was progressing in public school, until one day she was sent home with the report that she had lice in her hair. Her family was quite embarrassed, and Emily was scrubbed well and sent back to school. Again she returned home with a notice of the same complaint. Only this time she was told not to return to school until she had rid herself of all the lice.

The parents were incensed, and reported the incident to the reservation principal and the social worker. Emily refused to go back to school under any circumstances, and her parents were strongly in sympathy. Several phone calls clarified the problem, and a Public Health Nurse was sent to the home to eradicate the source of the girl's reinfection.

In a week's time, after much coaxing, the Albertas finally agreed to send Emily back to school. She returned home once more with word from the school nurse, claiming that there were "indications" of lice still in her hair. An examination by the PHS doctor refuted this claim, and the reservation principal unleashed a vigorous protest against the public school officials. No amount of apologies, however could soften the hearts of Emily's irate parents, and in a short time she was sent away to boarding school.

A thorough investigation of the causes behind unfortunate incidents like this one brought to light factors which created the conditions fostering misunderstandings. Anglo teachers and school administrators were generally ignorant of Apache disciplinary methods—in fact, many believed that Apache parents did not discipline their children at all—and unknowingly used their own methods of reprimand, shaming the Apache student, sometimes before the eyes of his classmates. This left the student open to ridicule and disapproval, particularly from non-Indian peers.

Traditionally, public disapproval and ridicule have been used by Apaches as strong corrective measures for teen-agers and adults alike: measures which were "feared and avoided above everything" (Goodwin 1942:459). The use of such methods by school personnel for minor infractions was considered by Apaches to be unjustly harsh and discriminatory. Anglo teachers, insensitive or ignorant of the competition between Apache and non-Apache students (with the former usually feeling somewhat inferior), would create emotional crises that often hindered Apache students in their efforts to adjust to the integrated school program.

### SEASON AS A FACTOR IN ABSENTEEISM

By plotting the monthly rate of absenteeism, it was discovered that at certain times of the school year Apache students were more prone to absenteeism than at other times. September, October, January, and March had the highest incidence of absences, while December, February, April, and May had the lowest. Investigation, not entirely conclusive, pointed to the following probable causes:

1) September and October found Apache students experiencing their most difficult period of adjustment to the new year

of class routine, new teachers, perhaps higher levels of work, and perhaps a new school altogether. Homesickness was felt most strongly during this time.

2) By November and December most students had settled down to their routine of schoolwork, and newly-made friendships eased the pangs of homesickness.

3) In January some students, having enjoyed their Christmas vacation, refused to return to school on a regular basis. Faced with semester exams, some made an effort to drop out of school entirely.

4) February saw the beginning of the new semester with some of the more serious attendance offenders either in boarding school or out of school entirely.

5) With the coming of warm, spring-like weather in March, hooky-playing at times got quite out of hand; but by April and May this was under control.

6) Illness was most prevalent during the months of October, January, and March.

### SCHOLASTIC PROBLEMS AS A FACTOR IN ABSENTEEISM

Along with the above factors influencing the annual rate of absenteeism among Apache students—family environment, illness, poor communications and misunderstandings, school disciplinary practices, and time of year—scholastic difficulties created problems which often led to reluctance on the part of some Apaches to stay in school. This was a particularly influential factor at the higher grade levels where the school work was more demanding and the work loads were heavier. Many Apaches at these grade levels were in the integrated public schools, and competing academically with non-Indians having a background of cultural experiences more in line with the curriculum of the public school system accentuated many of their scholastic problems.

## Academic Achievement in School

In measuring the scholastic achievement of teen-age Apache students, a number of criteria were used: intelligence tests comparing Indians with non-Indians, a comparison of Indian and non-Indian grade averages, the incidence of Apache age-grade lag in the upper grade levels, social promotions in the public schools, and the Apache teen-age drop-out rate.

Before discussing any one of these criteria, however, a few remarks regarding the various techniques used are in order.

In a project of this size it was impossible to investigate all the phases of the program of education for Apaches on the basis of the total school population. The data had to be gathered in areas where it was most feasible and at times when it best suited the convenience of each individual school. For each of the criteria discussed below, however, a sample of adequate size was obtained, involving approximately 100 students or more. Nearly all of the data were gathered during the 1959-60 school year from the records of teen-age Indian and non-Indian students in grades five through twelve.

### A COMPARISON OF INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN I.Q. SCORES

In the spring of 1960, a battery of Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Tests was given to the pupils in all grade levels at the Ft. Thomas Schools. An analysis of these results was made by Louis C. Bernardoni and his staff at the Department of Public Instruction, Division of Indian Education of the State of Arizona. The following is a summary of the major points of Bernardoni's findings.

The Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Tests have been standardized for communities of varying socio-economic levels, and are adaptable to conditions where low socio-economic status has prevailed throughout the background of the subjects, a factor which made these tests seem to be favorably suited to most of the students at Ft. Thomas. Since the tests yielded both a verbal and non-verbal I.Q., it was possible to see if any differences existed between these separate performance categories that might help in evaluating the abilities of Apache students in both verbal and non-verbal tasks.

The students—both Indian and non-Indian—were grouped by grades 1-3, 4-6, and 7-12, in accordance with the design of the test. If it can be assumed that all of the students understood the instructions and were properly motivated in their performance, then we can regard the following aspects of the data with some validity. For the purposes of this study, the chief concern will be with the results from grades 4 through 12 only.

**Table 1. Mean I.Q. Scores: Grades 4-6***

| | | INDIAN | | | NON-INDIAN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total 47 | | | Total 34 | |
| Grade | N. | Verbal I.Q. | Non-Verbal I.Q. | N. | Verbal I.Q. | Non-Verbal I.Q. |
| 4 | 14 | 74.57 | 73.35 | 13 | 98.00 | 94.31 |
| 5 | 16 | 70.31 | 82.69 | 9 | 104.44 | 104.66 |
| 6 | 17 | 77.12 | 92.65 | 12 | 96.00 | 103.66 |
| Mean | | 74.06 | 83.62 | | 99.00 | 100.35 |

**Table 2. Mean I.Q. Scores: Grades 7-12***

| | | INDIAN | | | NON-INDIAN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total 51 | | | Total 53 | |
| Grade | N. | Verbal I.Q. | Non-Verbal I.Q. | N. | Verbal I.Q. | Non-Verbal I.Q. |
| 7 | 15 | 76.60 | 89.67 | 12 | 95.42 | 102.58 |
| 8 | 10 | 72.60 | 90.80 | 10 | 103.80 | 106.60 |
| 9 | 11 | 78.55 | 87.73 | 12 | 90.75 | 92.92 |
| 10 | 7 | 82.57 | 93.43 | 5 | 91.20 | 93.20 |
| 11 | 4 | 72.25 | 88.25 | 8 | 96.88 | 101.25 |
| 12 | 4 | 71.75 | 79.75 | 6 | 95.00 | 106.50 |
| Mean | | 76.33 | 89.10 | | 95.72 | 100.51 |

As can be seen from the mean I.Q. scores above, the non-Apache students tended to score somewhat near the national norms on the verbal tests and slightly above these norms on the non-verbal tests. The Apache students, however, tended to score below the national norms on both tests, to levels approximately 25 points lower on the verbal sections and 10-15 points lower on the non-verbal sections. The differences between the verbal and non-verbal I.Q.'s for Apaches were found to be statistically significant, an indication to some degree of the verbal handicap experienced by these students in school. (The assumption here is that a "slow learner" would have made similar low scores on both sections of the test.)

The Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Tests also yielded a mean grade equivalent score that could be used in comparison with actual grade placement. In accordance with expectations, the Apache grade equivalent scores were far more erratic and considerably lower than the non-Apache scores. Non-verbal grade equivalent scores were, on the whole, higher than the verbal scores for both Indians and non-Indians.

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*The National Standard mean I.Q. is 100.

**Table 3. Mean Grade Equivalent**

| Grade | Indian | | Non-Indian | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Verbal | Non-Verbal | Verbal | Non-Verbal |
| 7 | 4.35 | 6.20 | 6.78 | 8.05 |
| 8 | 4.26 | 7.00 | 9.10 | 9.39 |
| 9 | 5.84 | 7.07 | 7.81 | 7.69 |
| 10 | 7.43 | 9.20 | 7.68 | 8.60 |
| 11 | 7.25 | 8.45 | 9.46 | 9.75 |
| 12 | 5.55 | 6.10 | 10.41 | 11.52 |

The results of Bernardoni's findings brought him to the following conclusions:

1) While the Lorge-Thorndike does not seem to be fair for these Apache students in that they (the students) do not score near the national norms, it may differentiate students with a language handicap from slow learners. It also seems to differentiate between verbal and non-verbal abilities for this bicultural, bilingual group.
2) There is a significant difference between Indian and non-Indian scores on this test, with Indian students scoring approximately 25 points lower on the verbal tests and 10 to 15 points lower on the non-verbal tests than non-Indian students. The difference between the verbal and non-verbal I.Q. scores for Indian students is also significant.
3) The Indian students tend to be about one year older than their classmates, and to average one letter grade lower in marks assigned by teachers.
4) The Lorge-Thorndike does not seem to predict academic achievement as measured by teachers' marks for Indian students.
5) This test should be evaluated further, using achievement tests, ratings of student intelligence, ratings of acculturation, parental interest in schools, etc. to gain a better perspective of this test (Bernardoni 1960:11).

From Bernardoni's analysis, it is evident that teen-age Apache students were not academically on a par with the standards of the grades in which they were enrolled. The experiment also pointed out the inadequacies of some psychological tests like the Lorge-Thorndike series in measuring the inherent capabilities of the Apache students. The best they can do, it seems, is to point out the handicaps of those whose cultural backgrounds differ from the Anglo norms upon which these tests are based.

### A COMPARISON OF INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT

The following comparative analysis of Indian and non-Indian scholastic achievement records was based on the data gathered in 1959-60 at the Ft. Thomas Public Schools for grades 5 through 12. The Ft. Thomas district was chosen in favor of Globe, primarily for two reasons: a) It had a total student enrollment of manageable size (less than 300), and b) the non-Indian students from the district had a somewhat rural, agricultural background, more like that of the Apache students. Globe was much more of an urban, mining and commercial area.

The school curriculum at Ft. Thomas was broken down into four major areas of study to help simplify the analysis:

- I. The Language Arts—spelling, reading, phonics, literature, and English
- II. The Historic & Geographic Arts—American and world history, geography, American government
- III. Science and Mathematics—all science and math courses
- IV. Manual and Vocational Arts—vocational agriculture, business and typing, home economics, and industrial arts

Grades were based on the following numerical scale:

1—excellent
2—good
3—average
4—below average
5—failure

In the Language Arts, Apache teen-age students fell below the 3.0 scholastic norm in all of the grades covered except the twelfth. Here they did manage to maintain a 3.0 in English. The non-Indians, on the other hand, maintained averages well above the 3.0 level in every class except one. The differences between Indian and non-Indian averages ranged from 0.1 to 1.8 grade points.

In Historic and Geographic Arts Apache students consistently remained at least 1.0 grade-points below their non-Indian peers in all classes. In Science and Mathematics the picture was the same, the Apache pupils averaging slightly less than 3.5 and the non-Indians slightly better than 2.5.

Scholastic differences became somewhat mixed in Manual and Vocational Arts. There is no doubt, however, that the Apache grades were improved. In industrial arts (classes 7-12) Apache grade averages came close to the 2.5 level, about one-half a grade-point below the non-Indians. In vocational agriculture (classes 9-12) Apache ninth graders did much poorer than their non-Indian peers—Apaches 3.4, non-Indians 1.3—but at the twelfth grade level both were close to a 2.5. In business and typing (classes 9-12) Apache ninth and tenth graders did approximately one-half a grade-point better than the non-Indian pupils; but in the eleventh and twelfth grades, a sudden reverse in this trend once more put them far apart, with Apaches at the 3.5 level, 1.5 grade-points below the non-Indians. Home economics, on the other hand (classes 9-12), provided the Apache pupils with their best grades in Manual and Vocational Arts, keeping them well above a 2.3. The non-Indian home economics students also did very well by maintaining a composite average of 1.5.

This brief analysis of comparative grade-point averages in relation to subject areas shows that the Apache students at Ft. Thomas achieved decidedly poorer grades in the more solid or academic subjects than did their non-Indian classmates. While a marked improvement was seen in Manual and Vocational Arts for the Apaches, these subjects have little importance in preparation for college admission requirements, a desired goal expressed by Apache leaders (Wesley 1961:4).

A summary of grade-point averages, lumping together all of the subject areas for Indian and non-Indian groups at each class level from grades five through twelve, points out the discrepancies between both groups even more vividly.

**Table 4. Ft. Thomas Public Schools, 1959-1960**

| Grade Levels | Indians | Non-Indians | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 3.16 | 1.75 | 1.41 |
| 6 | 2.81 | 2.11 | 0.70 |
| 7 | 3.65 | 2.45 | 1.20 |
| 8 | 3.28 | 1.97 | 1.31 |
| 9 | 3.19 | 2.21 | 0.98 |
| 10 | 3.07 | 3.10 | 0.03* |
| 11 | 3.27 | 2.17 | 1.10 |
| 12 | 2.69 | 2.06 | 0.63 |

*The combination of an advanced Apache group and a retarded non-Indian group created this exceptional reversal.

At Globe a similar summary grade-point analysis was made for the much larger Indian and non-Indian student groups at the elementary, junior high, and high school levels. The results added further evidence to the discrepancy between Apache and non-Indian scholastic achievement.

**Table 5. Globe Public Schools, 1959-1960**

| Grade Levels | Indians | Non-Indians | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4.03 | 2.52 | 1.51 |
| 6 | 3.49 | 2.81 | 0.68 |
| 7 | 3.88 | 3.07 | 0.81 |
| 8 | 3.99 | 3.16 | 0.83 |
| 9 | 3.72 | 2.98 | 0.74 |
| 10 | 3.71 | 3.07 | 0.64 |
| 11 | * | 3.03 | * |
| 12 | 3.68 | 2.61 | 1.07 |

*There were no Apaches in the eleventh grade at Globe High School in 1959-60.

Grade-point averages for teen-age Apache students in the federal and mission boarding schools tended to be somewhat higher than for those students attending the integrated public schools. This was believed to be in part the result of the absence of non-Indian competition in the boarding schools. In the off-reservation, integrated public schools there were many non-Indian low-achievers, but the high-achievers among the non-Indian group were very often the classroom pace-setters, offering stiff competition to low-achievers and Indians alike.

### APACHE ACADEMIC RETARDATION AS INDICATED BY THE AGE-GRADE LAG

Along with standard I.Q. and achievement tests and grade-point averages, a third measure of academic achievement is the age-grade relationship: that is, the student's age in relation to the proper age for his grade level.

In most public schools and under normal circumstances, students are expected to begin at a standard age and thereafter progress from year to year at the normal rate of advancement. Thus each grade level maintains a standard age level, and the work is geared to match the anticipated intellectual level of the pupils at that age and phase of maturity. In the state of Arizona, for example, children are expected to begin the first grade at the age of 6 years. At the normal rate of advancement, then, they should finish the eighth grade by age 14 or 15 and the twelfth grade by age 17 or 18, depending upon the month in which they were born.

In the federal day schools at San Carlos and Bylas, as stated earlier, the Apache students in 1960 were compelled to begin the first grade at age 7, automatically placing them at least one year behind the standard age-grade level for public school students. With normal advancement, Apache students could not therefore be expected to finish the twelfth grade before ages 18 or 19. This standard age discrepancy between Indians and non-Indians does not complicate the analysis except for the fact that a double set of data must be described, in line with either the "Apache norm" or the "Anglo norm."

The degree of over-age Apache students at grade levels 5 through 12 will be discussed as the "age-grade lag," a measure of academic retardation. The tables below summarize the data gathered in 1959-60 from the Globe, Ft. Thomas, and Phoenix Indian School records. The figures are presented in the form of percentages of over-aged Apaches for each grade level in relation to Apache or Anglo norms (brackets).

As can be seen from the above three charts, there was a sizable age-grade lag among teen-age Apache students. At Globe, for example, approximately 47% were over-aged according to Apache norms. At Ft. Thomas, the number went up to 54%, while at three federal boarding schools, including

**Table 6. Globe Public Schools**

| Grade Levels | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| % of over-aged Apaches according to "Apache norm" | 42.7<br>(11) | 24.7<br>(12) | 29.7<br>(13) | 46.2<br>(14) | 51.2<br>(15) | 33.2<br>(16) | *<br>(17) | 100.0<br>(18) |
| % of over-aged Apaches according to "Anglo norm" | 87.3<br>(10) | 89.1<br>(11) | 84.2<br>(12) | 82.7<br>(13) | 100.0<br>(14) | 100.0<br>(15) | *<br>(16) | 100.0<br>(17) |

**Table 7. Ft. Thomas Public Schools**

| Grade Levels | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| % of over-aged Apaches according to "Apache norm" | 50.7<br>(11) | 73.3<br>(12) | 37.5<br>(13) | 41.6<br>(14) | 73.4<br>(15) | 50.0<br>(16) | 62.5<br>(17) | 40.0<br>(18) |
| % of over-aged Apaches according to "Anglo norm" | 84.0<br>(10) | 93.3<br>(11) | 100.0<br>(12) | 83.3<br>(13) | 80.1<br>(14) | 80.0<br>(15) | 100.0<br>(16) | 100.0<br>(17) |

**Table 8. Phoenix Indian School**

| Grade Levels | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| % of over-aged Apaches according to "Apache norm" | 63.5<br>(11) | 87.5<br>(12) | 78.5<br>(13) | 55.5<br>(14) | 62.9<br>(15) | 40.0<br>(16) | 60.0<br>(17) | 55.5<br>(18) |
| % of over-aged Apaches according to "Anglo norm" | 91.0<br>(10) | 100.0<br>(11) | 92.9<br>(12) | 96.3<br>(13) | 96.3<br>(14) | 100.0<br>(15) | 90.0<br>(16) | 77.8<br>(17) |

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*No Apaches in grade 11 at Globe during 1959-60.

Phoenix Indian School, over 63% of the enrolled Apaches were older than expected for their particular grade levels.

A closer look at the data showed that within many of the classes or grade levels, the spread of age differences was considerable. In the Globe schools, for example, within grades 5, 6, 7, and 8, the age spread was as great as 6, 7, 6, and 5 years, respectively. There were 16-year-old pupils attending classes with 9-year-olds, 17-year-old pupils in classes with 11-year-olds, and so forth.

Such tremendous age differences between Apache students of the same grade level presented many problems not only for the teacher, but for the students as well. Differences in physical maturity sometimes caused conflicts between students during play periods or sports activities. A student 4 or 5 years older than the norm found little to interest him in class materials that were geared for students at a much younger stage of emotional and motivational development. Occasionally such older Apache students in the public schools would lose interest in school, feel embarrassed at being in class with "younger kids," and drop out of their own accord. If possible, they were picked up again and sent off to boarding school where there were many students like them from other tribes, of the same age and grade.

In addition to all of these problems, a matter of simple practicality remained unanswered: How much longer can one keep in school Apache children who are already 15, 16, and 17 years old, and have not yet reached the eighth grade? At least one of the public schools was found to have an answer to this question, and it shall be discussed at this time as a separate measure of Apache academic achievement in school.

### "SOCIAL PROMOTIONS" FOR OVER-AGE APACHE STUDENTS

When the survey of grade-point averages for Apaches in the public schools was being made, special attention was paid to the transition years, grades 5 and 6. This was the point where many Apaches experienced their first taste of integration in the classes with non-Indians. This was also the point where many experienced for the first time schooling away from home, in an atmosphere where Indians were in the minority and where teachers and school policies were not oriented towards Indians as in the reservation federal day schools or mission schools.

As mentioned earlier, some Apache students admitted considerable difficulty when trying to adjust to new experiences during those transition years. A few remarked it was the first time they had ever had homework! Such indications tended to support the views of some Apache leaders that the on-reservation schools were not adequately preparing Apaches for the demands of the off-reservation public schools (Wesley 1961:4).

In consideration of these factors, then, was there a noticeable lag in the academic achievement of Apache students during this transitional period? Grade-point summaries showed that the non-Indian fifth and sixth graders had exceptionally high averages at both Globe and Ft. Thomas public schools. The Apache students, however, did not do so well. In the fifth grade, for example, Apaches received grade-point averages that were approximately 1.5 points lower than those of their non-

Indian classmates. In the sixth grade this margin was somewhat reduced.

Additional information from the records at East Globe Elementary School made this writer wonder if the grade-point averages were telling the whole story. Alongside some of the students' grades was found the notation: "social promotion." When asked to clarify the interpretation of this term, the school principal stated:

> In our school a teacher will give a student a social promotion to the next grade if he has failed to pass the academic requirements for his present grade, but has reached an age where retention is no longer beneficial to the student or his classmates.
>
> (from a personal conversation with principal)

At the end of the 1959-60 school year, the records showed that no less than 44.4% of the Apache fifth graders at East Globe Elementary were socially promoted to grade 6, and 60.0% of the Apache sixth graders were socially promoted to grade 7. In line with the quotation above, it can be said that over 50% of the Apache pupils in those classes were over-age and unable to fulfill the required work for their respective grades.

One wonders how many of these social promotions occurred unrecorded in other grades and schools. One point, however, seems certain: Students promoted primarily on the basis of age rather than academic achievement must have found the following year's demands even more frustrating to cope with. Without substantial remedial assistance, these cumulative deficiencies would grow from year to year to cause Apaches to fall farther behind academically and farther away from any hopes of graduation.

### THE DROP-OUT RATE AMONG APACHE TEEN-AGERS

Perhaps one of the most difficult things for which to obtain accurate data was the actual drop-out rate for Apache teen-agers. First of all, when did a student become a drop-out? Considered on the basis of withdrawal only, there were hundreds of Apache drop-outs, for there was never an end to unauthorized mid-year withdrawals. Immediate follow-ups of such withdrawals by local reservation authorities were undoubtedly responsible for preventing many actual drop-out cases among Apache teen-agers, since a large portion were eventually transferred to other schools (see pp. 42-43).

A student was generally considered a true drop-out after every effort to return him to school had failed and he remained out of school for at least a year. Such students were usually near or past the legal age of 18, when the tribal compulsory education laws no longer applied. The methods of keeping drop-out records on the reservation were not very accurate, however, and it was difficult to tell each year what the actual drop-out rate was. Any individual case might remain on the list for several years until he was forgotten.

From the records maintained by the staff of this project, some 86 Apaches were identified as drop-outs in 1959-60, but less than half that number had actually withdrawn from school in that same year. Their reasons for withdrawal from school were many, some of which have already been touched upon: lack of family support, discouragement about school, marriage, a family need at home, illness, unwed and with child, etc. Of the 86 drop-outs, 50 were girls and 36 were boys. Most of the girls had gotten married. Very few of the boys had succeeded in finding even part-time work. Usually they roamed about their home communities in groups socializing and drinking and occasionally getting into trouble.

It was very evident to this writer, however, that the actual drop-out rate should have been higher, considering the low academic achievement of some Apaches in school. In spite of the efforts of school administrators and tribal officials, some students had mentally and emotionally withdrawn from the existing efforts to educate them, even though they were physically in attendance at school (see page 47).

### POST-HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT OF APACHES IN COLLEGES AND TRAINING SCHOOLS

In 1961, Clarence Wesley (1961:4), Chairman of the San Carlos Apache Tribe, reported that: "In recent years no Indian from the San Carlos Apache reservation has graduated from college, though several have started." While this statement is not entirely correct (see page 23) it does bespeak a situation that has serious consequences for the entire tribe.

There are very few college trained or skilled Apaches available to manage tribal affairs. The extremely small minority of Apache high school graduates entering college over the past decade have produced virtually no graduates outside of a mission school teacher or two and possibly a business college graduate. The numbers in vocational schools have been larger, but many graduates were unable to return to the reservation to put their training to use because of the lack of local employment opportunities. In a word, there have been relatively few Apaches trained beyond high school to meet the professional needs of the reservation; and of the few trained, it seems only a small minority were able to apply their skills to the needs of their people.

Presented below are the figures from the BIA San Carlos Agency annual school census reports for the period 1949-1961.

**Table 9. San Carlos Apaches Enrolled in Colleges and Vocational Schools, 1949-1961**

| School Year | Enrollment in College | Enrollment in Vocational Schools |
|---|---|---|
| 1949-50 | 2 | 24 |
| 1950-51 | 5 | 20 |
| 1951-52 | 1 | 10 |
| 1952-53 | 2 | 1 |
| 1953-54 | 11 | 6 |
| 1954-55 | 10 | 3 |
| 1955-56 | 14 | 5 |
| 1956-57 | 12 | 12 |
| 1957-58 | 4 | 19 |
| 1958-59 | 6 | 16 |
| 1959-60 | 7 | 16 |
| 1960-61 | 5 | 11 |

A break-down of these figures was obtained for the 1959-60 school year, showing that in the vocational schools 9 were taking training in welding, 3 were learning to be barbers, 3 were enrolled in nursing programs, and one was in a hospital studying x-ray technology. Of the 7 in college for that year, 4 were training to be office clerks, one was studying business administration, one was learning animal husbandry, and one was preparing for elementary teaching.

Considering that the main economic resources on the San Carlos Reservation were cattle, lumber, and subsistence farming, there would not have been much use for the talents of 9 welders and 3 barbers. The rest could have fitted into the economy at the time, but possibly as much as half of the total group would have had to look for employment elsewhere in order to apply their acquired trades. On the other hand, very little was being done to meet the growing demands of an expanding reservation community which would require teachers, business managers, health and welfare personnel, lawyers and judges, carpenters and plumbers, mechanics, electricians, agricultural specialists, engineers, and other professionally trained personnel. Such positions existed on the San Carlos Reservation, but for the most part were held by non-Apache personnel.

Looking towards a brighter future, the tribal council sought to develop new sources of economic gain and employment: tourism, light industry, better housing, roads, and communications; but in turning to their own manpower resources, there were very few with adequate training who could take on such responsibilities. Apparently matters had not substantially improved by 1964, if the confidential *Survey of the San Carlos Reservation* (Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs 1964b) is accurate. In February of that year only five Apaches were reported to be in college, and another five in vocational schools. March, 1964, employment figures were no less discouraging. Full-time positions held by Apaches working on the reservation numbered only 80:

40 for the tribal council and tribal enterprises
20 for the Bureau of Indian Affairs
15 for other state or federal agencies
5 in agriculture
(Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs 1964b)

The facts and figures presented thus far in this chapter might lead one to ask a number of questions. In what way did cultural differences, home and community conditions, and school policies contribute to the failures of Apache teen-agers in school? To what extent did personal motivation become involved with academic achievement for young Apaches? Was school the only problem area for these students? Could Apache parents have helped to avoid some of these problems?

Some of the answers to these questions have already been mentioned, but the major burden of probing into the factors surrounding these questions and answers, will be left up to Chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 4

# *Factors Affecting the Education of Apache Youth*

THE DISCUSSION OF FACTORS contributing to the academic and personal problems of Apache teen-agers will be divided into three main parts: 1) problems stemming from the community, 2) problems stemming from the family, and 3) problems stemming from the education program. Before getting into the first of these topics, however, a sample of case histories illustrating some of the more significant problems and their underlying causes, as described by the data presented in the last chapter will be reviewed. Interviews and personal records from school and agency files were used to compile more than 30 detailed case histories, from which the four presented here were selected.

### CASE HISTORY NO. 1: "DANNY"*

Danny was born in 1944, the illegitimate son of his unwed Apache mother and Anglo father. He never saw his father, but he did vaguely remember the man his mother married shortly after Danny was born. He was a Navajo. When his mother went off to live with her Navajo husband, Danny was left behind at San Carlos to be raised by his maternal grandparents. Once in a great while Danny's grandparents were visited by his mother and her husband, but he did not care for either of them and was glad they had left him at San Carlos. Although his grandparents were old and nearly blind, they showed their love for him; and even as a little boy, he felt responsible in caring for them.

The home that Danny shared with his grandparents was a small wooden frame house with a single room 12' x 14' located on a barren plot of ground at Gilson Wash. There was no gas or electricity, and water came from an outdoor tap. Heating and cooking was done on a wood stove. They had no car, and getting around to the store, the church, and the hospital took many hours of walking. Out of the small pension Danny's grandfather received, they purchased the barest essentials. Sometimes when this was not enough the local welfare agent helped them out.

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*All names presented in the four case histories below are fictitious.

Danny attended a variety of schools before entering the school program at Globe. He attended the local mission school, the government school at San Carlos, and for brief periods two public schools. His attendance was good, according to the records, and his teachers spoke highly of him. They said he was "quick to learn," "speaks English well and like[d] numbers," and that he was a "top student in class" when he was in the sixth grade at San Carlos. But when Danny entered the seventh grade in Globe the record of his achievements fell.

At Globe Junior High Danny did so poorly the first year that he was conditionally promoted to the eighth grade. In the eighth grade his marks improved slightly, but still he got mostly 4's. Danny explained his problem basically in these terms:

1) When he left the reservation Indian school and entered the integrated public school, he realized he was far behind the non-Indians in his class. It took him a great deal of effort to catch up and to try and keep up with the others.

2) There was no encouragement to study at home. There was, in fact, no place to study. Thus he seldom studied at home. His grandparents did not compel him to study; when his chores around the house were done, he simply went off to "goof around with the other kids."

Throughout, Danny's attendance was excellent. His I.Q. and achievement test scores were approximately average, which was higher than other Apaches. In 1960, however, his mother returned to the little house at Gilson Wash with a Pima man, her husband having died earlier of TB. One night she received an almost fatal beating from this man, the result of excessive mutual drinking, and was rushed to the hospital. The Pima man was banished from the Apache reservation by tribal authorities.

By now Danny had made friends with his high school music teacher, Mr. Donald, who had befriended the boy on numerous occasions. When the crisis at Danny's home occurred, it upset the boy greatly, and the local authorities agreed to permit Danny to live with the Donald family in Globe. Danny worried about his grandparents, but the Donalds took him to visit them often. He also visited his mother at the hospital, but this he soon stopped. Mr. Donald said it depressed Danny greatly each time.

Danny's grades finally began to show signs of improvement. A simply inquiry brought a rather enthusiastic response: "Man, you should see what I have now," he said. "I've got my own room, my own desk, my own lamp, and everything! We even have a set of encyclopedias in the house, and I use it all the time. Sometimes when I don't want to study they (the Donalds) make me study. They *push* me into it!" Danny's tone evinced his approval.

Danny liked the attention the Donalds were showing him. "Whenever I have a problem, I just go to [Mr. Donald] and he helps me." He never had a father or maternal uncle to turn to before. Other Apaches shunned him because he was a "half-breed" and not one of them. It hurt him at first, but he did not seem to resent this as much as one might have expected. In fact, he felt sorry for the other Apache children. They seldom discussed their personal lives with their parents, he said, and their parents did not inquire. School matters were almost never mentioned unless a child was sick. "The parents aren't interested in their children," he rationalized. "They don't care what their kids do. They tell them, 'You can go out and work as a cowboy, it doesn't matter.' They don't care if their kids do well in school or not."

It was not long before the Donalds adopted Danny. He went less often to the reservation and worked in Globe during the summers. He even started dating an Anglo girl, after the

Donalds had pacified her parents. Donald felt that adult Anglos were far more prejudiced than their children. Apache students resented Danny's behavior and rejected his friendship, but he did not seem to care any more.

### CASE HISTORY NO. 2: "BERT"

Bert was the oldest boy and fourth in a line of eleven children. His father was the son of an early Apache scout who, while in the service of Captain Crawford during the late 1800's, aided in the capture of Geronimo, and was later assigned to guard the fallen leader in his eastern prison camp in Oklahoma. In 1960 the family lived in pleasant surroundings at Seven-Mile Wash, in a better-than-average three-room frame house, as well as two additional houses. The grounds were well kept, and the family enjoyed electricity, running water, and the use of radios, a washing machine, and two pick-up trucks. Bert's father was a steady, reliable worker, holding a rather prominent position in community health services. He had the equivalent of an eighth-grade education, but was considered by his employers to have learned far more through his own personal efforts since the time of his school training.

Bert's parents were strongly education-oriented. He and his brothers and sisters all had excellent attendance records throughout their school careers. Nearly all had average or better than average achievement records, and one of Bert's older sisters even went on to junior college, but she found it quite difficult. Their home life was exceptionally stable and harmonious in spite of the size of the family—a result of the father's firm discipline and strong sense of family responsibility.

Bert stayed in Indian schools until he was in the seventh grade. Then he started attending school at Globe. He said that the transition for him was very hard. For the first time he had to do homework, and his parents provided a place for him to study at home. His marks were very poor that year and his attendance was far below his average for the other years. The non-Indians, he said, were hard to compete with and he found English difficult.

Bert was promoted to the eighth grade, and when his work did not improve, he was granted a "social promotion" to grade 9. He took remedial English his freshman year in high school but failed it along with general math, business, and world geography. He was held back at the end of the year, and after taking over some of these courses, was allowed to become a sophomore in 1960. His grades remained poor and it was obvious from the interviews that he was discouraged. His father, in fact, had expressed deep concern about the boy's future. He blamed Bert's troubles on a newly acquired interest in girls, and he made formidable efforts at breaking up all possible romances, convinced that only firm discipline would get the boy's mind back on his education, "where it should be." But all of Bert's problems were not female, and the following incident, revealed at an interview, illustrates a rather frequent occurrence among Apache students in school.

During an interview Bert announced one day that he was going to fail biology. The class had been assigned a semester project, and Bert had chosen to write a 7,500 word paper on radiation biology. He picked this topic because it had sounded interesting to him, but when he learned how complex a subject it was, he knew he could not handle it. Two weeks later he asked to have his topic changed, but the instructor refused. Now, the day before it was due, Bert had not written a single word.

A subsequent inquiry revealed that had Bert made an attempt at completing his project, he might have passed the course, but he had not discussed this possibility at the time with his instructor. He had also failed to approach the Indian student counselor with his problem and, in fact, appeared to be ignorant of the man's function in the school program. Bert had not mentioned a word of his dilemma to his parents.

When asked if he ever confided in others concerning his own personal matters, Bert replied that he sometimes wanted to talk to someone about such things very much, but he knew of no one in whom he could confide. He did not talk to his parents because he was certain they would not understand. His good pal, Harry, was a quiet fellow and they seldom talked about personal matters; so Bert kept most things to himself. If a guy went around with a girl, he said, most (Apache) people said they should get married. It was hard to go dating like the white boys and Mexicans. There was really no one a guy could confide in, and he just did not "have the guts" to ask people for help.

When told that he would probably have to take biology over again, Bert replied smiling, "Oh, I don't mind. It's one of my favorite subjects." Later he added, "I'm gonna be 18 this August. Maybe I'll just quit an' stay around home like the other guys."

### CASE HISTORY NO. 3: "LYDIA"

Lydia lived in Bylas, and in 1960 attended the seventh grade class at Ft. Thomas. Her father had been a part-time laborer all his life, except when he was an Army scout in 1928. Both her father and her mother had been previously married and had large families.

According to the local welfare worker, Lydia's parents had never really maintained a stable home for their children. The family income had for years been sporadic and seldom sufficient to meet the barest needs. They were often dependent on welfare and assistance from relatives, and the children had to be "farmed-out" whenever one or both parents were jailed for drunkenness. When sober they talked about education, but they seemed to prefer to send their children off to boarding school where others could take care of the task. Nearly all of Lydia's older sisters were married now, but the rest of her siblings were still in school as she was, making failing grades and showing poor attendance. Their life together as a family was to "live and shift" (social worker) from one day to the next.

In 1960 Lydia had to borrow clothes in order to go to school. With no home to go to each night, she would "run around," as Apaches would say, going from house to house with friends—some of whom were in the same plight as she—and with the groups of boys who dared to disobey the curfew. Sometimes Lydia would stay with an older sister, but her sister's husband was out of work most of the time, and occasionally he spent some time in jail. She claimed she saw little of her parents.

Lydia said she liked school but found it very hard. Her father and her sister wanted her to stay in school. She said she liked her father because he bought her clothes now and then, but her mother wanted her to quit school because she was ashamed of what people were saying about Lydia's nighttime habits. Lydia did not like her mother and tried to ignore what she said. She said her mother never did anything for her. Lydia preferred to be with her two girl friends most of the time, even though they teased her when the other Apaches did. But they were the only two girls she could talk to, she said.

Lydia was two years over the Apache age norm for her grade. Her marks were mostly failures, and her teachers complained that she was a "complete blank" in class, never responding to anything they said or tried to do. She seldom spoke to Anglos and stayed mostly with other Indian students. She was accused by her teachers of not caring about school and having no pride in her appearance. She was known to drink whenever she could obtain liquor, and sometimes after drinking too much she would go to the homes of friends for food and shelter.

As might be expected, Lydia had very little to say about her own future. She said if she could not stay in school, she would simply "stay at home"—wherever that might be. She admitted, though, that there was nothing for her to do at home. Probing deeper than this only provoked a sad and silent response, a response that answered no questions, but succeeded nearly always in curtailing any further discussion.

### CASE HISTORY NO. 4: "JED"

Jed was the third oldest boy out of nine children. His father was a high school graduate and a prominent tribal leader from Bylas, active in politics, law, and church functions. His mother was a quiet, unassuming woman, devoted to her family. They had a larger than average home of brick construction with most household conveniences. In recent years up to 1960 the family enjoyed a steady income and an exceptional degree of harmonious stability, in spite of the father's occasional political battles.

Jed's academic achievement over the years was exceptional. In the seventh grade at Ft. Thomas his lowest grade was a 3− (1 is excellent) in geography. In the eighth grade his marks were mostly 1's and 2's. His lowest mark in the ninth grade was a 3+ in history. In the tenth grade at Ft. Thomas he had nearly a 1 average in all of his "solid" courses. His lowest grade in the eleventh grade was a 2. Jed managed a straight 1.0 grade-point average in English since the eighth grade! His total attendance record was excellent. Among Indians and non-Indians, Jed was considered by his teachers to be an outstanding student, both intelligent and very diligent.

Jed was aware of his accomplishments and did not hesitate to discuss them with the author, although he was never boastful. He attributed his success to plain hard work. He said he studied in school and at home every day, even though some of the other Apache students chided him for it. He blamed the failures of many Apaches in school on the fact that they gave up too easily when in competition with non-Indians. Jed seemed convinced that many Apaches could do as well as he if only they would put aside their defeatist attitude and work harder at their studies.

This was one reason why Jed did not pal around with other Apache boys. He felt that their interests differed from his. They only wanted to "fool around" and had no interest in school or the future. They had, as he put it, "nothing to offer" him. Jed's best pal was a scholarly Mexican boy from whom he learned Spanish and better English. In spite of the resentment expressed by his Apache peers, Jed remarked confidently, "I can handle myself. I'm not afraid of what they say."

Others were also aware of Jed's exceptional standards, and it was usually easy for him to find a job during vacation periods. His relations with his family seemed good, although he preferred to confide more in an older sister or his mother than with his father. The only thing he would say about his father was to admit that he gave Jed money when needed.

When Jed announced to his parents his desire to become a lawyer, he was disappointed that his father, at least, had no comment to make and no encouragement to offer. What, then, did motivate Jed to work so hard at his studies?

Jed unhesitatingly replied that he was in heated competition with the non-Indian students in his school. They were out to beat him, he asserted, but he was not going to let them get ahead of him. He realized how much hard work had accomplished, and he was determined to stay on the top of the heap. Much of the time during each interview was spent discussing his plans for college and the many opportunities available for scholarships.

The above case histories represent a very small sample of the many, many similar cases encountered by the author and his research team during the two and one-half year period of the study. The incidents and views described are merely intended to illustrate some of the more typical findings revealed through hundreds of personal interviews with parents, teachers, community service officers, and students, in order that the reader might visualize more clearly the relationship between the problems of Apache teen-agers in school and those experienced at home on the reservation.

"Danny" and "Lydia" represent those Apache youngsters with poor home and family backgrounds—a lack of parental love (although Danny at least had his grandparents) and responsible care, economic instability, and moral depravity where parental guidance and discipline should have prevailed. But Danny's outlook and academic achievement did not parallel Lydia's.

For one thing, Danny was a boy and in Apache society he could move about more freely than Lydia, with less to fear from public criticism. "Runnin' around at night" was a criticism far less consequential for boys than for Apache girls. Lydia was socially "branded" as a bad girl, and even though people might admit that she was not entirely to blame for her situation, mothers of other boys and girls had already "blackballed" her as an undesirable companion for their own children. Her chances of eventually marrying into a good local family were seriously limited, if not altogether lost. Apache boys, on the other hand, involved in the same activities when youths, would sooner or later be pardoned because of the prevailing attitude among Apaches that "boys will be boys."*

Although Danny spoke of himself as an Apache, he realized that his half-white heritage (his physical appearance was predominantly Caucasian) would always be a barrier to his complete acceptance by Apaches. This enabled him to rationalize more easily any rejection that he experienced, for he could not blame himself for the folly of his parents. The fact that Anglos—his adopted parents in particular—were willing to accept him gave him an opportunity to develop new interests, goals, and values. His new home, with its relatively luxurious surroundings and facilities, and more importantly, the abundance of close personal attention received from his new parents, gave Danny a new sense of personal worth and pride. It afforded him an opportunity to achieve success as defined by his Anglo parents, and in so doing, to please those for whom he now had a strong feeling of affection and responsibility.

Lydia was not so fortunate. There was really very little hope for her to regain all that she had lost as long as she remained among her people. This is not to say that being adopted into an Anglo family like Danny would be the best solution for all such teen-agers, but rather that as long as Lydia remained in Bylas, she would always have the stigma of her wayward youth, a serious obstacle for her or any Apache girl in her predicament. As it was, she had little in life to look forward to and consequently less cause to strive for improvement, though under the circumstances improvement would have been exceedingly difficult. There were, regrettably, a great many Apache teen-age girls in Lydia's category.

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*A more striking example of this phenomenon occurred when a teen-age Apache girl was one night raped by a half dozen Apache youths. The boys were later brought before the local tribal magistrate on charges initiated by the girl's parents. But the boys' families brought counter-charges against the girl. The hearing proved that even though the girl willingly got into the boys' car "to go for a ride," she was forcibly molested by the older boys who overpowered her. The boys' parents, however, charged that she was a "bad girl" for being out at night and agreeing to go with the boys. The hearing ended with the judge sentencing the girl to a term in jail and criticizing her for being an evil influence in the community. The boys were released into the custody of their parents and told not to associate with such bad girls (Parmee 1959-1961a; 209-211).

Both "Jed" and "Bert" had stable home lives, with Apache fathers of notable community rank and personal achievement. There were also older brothers and sisters in both families who had attained comparatively good high school records and were now holding steady jobs. On the surface, at least, it appeared that both boys had equal opportunities for personal academic advancement, and yet their respective views towards the future and records of success were entirely different. Why?

Personality differences are clearly evident when comparing these two boys, although it is difficult to determine at this point whether the differences in personality contributed to the differences in achievement, or vice versa. Jed expressed personal confidence, strong motivation, and even aggressiveness, a rather atypical trait for Apache teen-agers in general. Bert, on the other hand, was rather timid in front of Anglos, showed very little self-confidence about his ability to improve in school, and had the more common Apache-student tendency to retreat from problems, rather than to attempt a partial success or to ask for aid.

Although Jed was not accepted by Anglos in the same manner as Danny was, his attitudes and achievements were clearly recognized by his teachers and non-Indian peers. He preferred this kind of recognition to recognition from other Apache boys, many of whom scorned his "White man's ways." Instead of retreating from competition, Jed regarded it as a means to obtain personal satisfaction. His closest friend, a Mexican boy, was his staunchest competitor.

Both Bert and Jed had since childhood been strongly encouraged by their families to "get a good education." For some reason, Bert had failed to respond to the opportunities afforded him by his family. Unfortunately, there was no psychological test of proven reliability available that could have been used to evaluate any differences in the potential intellectual aptitude of the two boys, for it would have been difficult to ascertain how much of the results was attributable to differences in individual English language abilities.

Bert acted discouraged, as if he had already "tossed in the towel" and resigned himself to whatever fate had in store for him. Jed, however, was definitely goal-oriented. He wanted to be a lawyer. Even more he perhaps wanted to prove to others that all Apaches were not "dumb" and "lazy," and that with persistent efforts, he could equal or even better his Anglo competitors in a world of their own design.

## Factors Within the Community Environment

### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Earlier in this report (see pp. 20-21) some effort was made to point out the serious unemployment problem existing on the San Carlos Apache Reservation. It is a problem that was carefully studied by the Stanford Research Institute in 1954 (Robison, et al.), that also prevailed on the reservation during the period of this study from 1959-61, and that still persists (Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs 1964b).

Such widespread Apache unemployment has come about as the result of a number of factors:

a) Full-scale development of the reservation economic resources has not been achieved. Enterprises such as mining and large-scale farming have died out, and timber harvesting has been extremely limited due to the inaccessibility of much of the forested areas (Robison et al. 1954: 129-131). Leasing contracts, and power and water problems have plagued efforts to attract light industry. Tourism is growing, but heavy investments are necessary to make good roads into the higher mountain areas, which are more suitable for camping, hunting, and fishing. Cattle-raising has been the tribe's chief industry, but even that has not been developed to its most lucrative limits:

> Thus it becomes evident that, through the years, traditional values have operated to prevent the San Carlos from becoming aware of a necessary shift in work habits, orientation to kin, and sociability if a successful cattle

> enterprise is to develop. In place of sustained work and thrift, which alone can contribute capital for present and future needs, they retain a traditional work pattern based on periodic and irregular activity. Instead of stressing individual enterprise and responsibility for personal needs within a narrow family unit, they emphasize voluntary cooperation and the sharing of surplus within extended kin groups. And, when isolation on the range is essential to future benefits, they are prone to remain within comfortable range of neighbors and kin. San Carlos Apache values are in direct opposition to the demands of the market economy (Getty 1961-62: 185).

b) During the period of this study it was observed that individual commercial enterprises among Apaches were rather rare. Commercial enterprising throughout the reservation was dominated by tribal interests, managed by tribal employees, and directed by council authority. According to the 1964 San Carlos Survey only 40 to 45 Apaches were employed by the combined Tribal Council and Tribal Enterprise system (Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs (1964b). Individual commercial enterprises were usually discouraged by the dearth of individual capital resources, and the unavailability of loans for such purposes. Some tribal leaders admitted that the tribal enterprise system itself defeated potential individual enterprises by the very fact that it was such an overpowering competitor with strong political backing. This was in part a result of the fact that the tribal council budget came primarily from the income procured through tribal enterprises.

c) As has already been mentioned (see pp. 66-69), the lack of suitable occupational training among Apaches greatly reduced the number of possible job holders on the reservation, and non-Apaches had to be brought in to fulfill most skilled and technical positions.

d) Apaches, on the whole, were opposed to moving off the reservation to procure jobs. Efforts in the past to relocate Apaches never fully succeeded (Parmee 1961: 24-25) in spite of tribal efforts to encourage this program (Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs 1964b). Apaches preferred living in their own communities, regardless of the economic deprivations, to living isolated in distant non-Indian communities (Parmee 1959-1961a: 127-135).

Although there are no family economic surveys known to this author for the San Carlos Apaches, one can safely surmise from the data presented thus far that family poverty among these people was not uncommon. The effects of this upon the individual families and the lives of each family member will be discussed later; here the concern is the reservation community as a whole.

Many Apaches were in the position of supporting three governments out of their income taxes: federal, state, and tribal. A low income and a large family spared many from doling out funds to the first two governments, but since about 1960 all cattle sales were taxed 2½% to help defray tribal council costs. Many Apaches opposed the passage of this bill, but at the time the council was desperately in need of additional funds.

In recent years the Apache tribal council continually struggled to keep its budget in the black. Caught between the desire to enact new programs for the improvement of reservation conditions and the threat of economic bankruptcy, the tribal council nearly every year found itself dependent upon alien sources for support of its programs. Federal agencies such as the BIA and U.S. Public Health Service spent millions on the San Carlos Reservation within the past decade to provide a multitude of community services: i.e., roads, welfare, range and agricultural improvement, education, hospital care, water and sanitation, disease control, etc. State welfare services also were at work on the reservation, and private charitable organizations each year lent their financial support to youth projects and individual needy families.

In the field of education the Apache tribe had for years been almost entirely dependent upon the BIA for financial aid and technical assistance. Consequently, Apaches had very little to say about the design and operation of their school programs. Requests by tribal leaders for improvements in the schools were continually held in abeyance by federal regulations, fiscal policies, and the opinions of BIA officials.* Even many of the basic goals of the program were of Anglo rather than Apache origin, and most decisions concerning operational or policy changes were entirely in the hands of the BIA.

Such conditions caused tribal leaders to appear impotent in the eyes of their people and they caused the people to harbor resentment towards the federal government, or Anglos in general, for what was felt to be social and political suppression (Parmee 1959-1961a: 241-245). Equally unfortunate was the fact that continued dependency of this sort produced apathy and ignorance among the Apache people, of the kind brought to light during the discussion of causes for absenteeism above (see pp. 47-50). Unable to think of the program as their own, many Apaches merely paid it a kind of lip-service, that was neither uncooperative nor affirmative. As a result of this attitude, attempts at community-school activities (PTA organizations and the like) often failed. The sole exception to this was the tribal education committee.

This tribally-appointed voluntary committee, whose functions have already been described on page 38, was, at the time of this study, a partial success. Taking its various functions point-by-point:

a) It provided educational loans for needy students, but the funds were very limited (a revolving fund of less than $6,000), and usually the committee had a very difficult time getting loans returned and keeping political influences from creeping into application approvals. The Committee also heard many complaints from parents against the school program, but seldom could facilitate any reciprocal action without the consent of the BIA.

b) Community projects such as sporting events, the local newspaper, summer camp programs, and scouting activities were usually sponsored by the tribal education committee, but its very limited funds, derived at the time solely from its own resources, hindered the committee from taking much more than a kind of diplomatic role in any of the larger projects.

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*For example, pre-school classes for 5 year olds, more on-reservation day schools, language specialists, etc. (Wesley 1961: 4-7).

c) The committee aided in the disbursement of private welfare funds to families with needy school children. Very often the degree of committee influence or popularity with the people was directly proportionate to the extent of its control over potential welfare resources.

d) The tribal education committee acted as a very important liason service between the common people and educational officialdom in the various separate school systems. It also provided—when funds or borrowed transportation permitted—many Apache parents with the opportunity to visit their children in distant schools. Occasionally Apache high school students were taken to visit a variety of colleges and training schools.

Some Apaches and Anglos laughed at this committee, pointing out its numerous weaknesses and informalities, but it was, in fact, at that time the most significant recent attempt on the part of Apaches to initiate some degree of constructive, active participation in a program of vital importance to their future social and economic progress.*

### SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Unlike many rural American communities that thrive in an atmosphere of PTA's, church and social clubs, civic committees, and adult-sponsored youth activities, Apaches found it difficult to establish enough volunteer citizenship aid to meet growing community needs. Attempts by some to organize civic support in this manner failed numerous times during the period of this study.

In San Carlos, for example, unsuccessful attempts were made from time to time to organize a PTA group including both Anglo and Apache parents. Anglos blamed it on Apache parental apathy. Apaches said it was because Anglos dominated all of the meetings and that the group had no influence with the agencies operating the school program. The tribal education committee, they said, at least had the ear of the council and was run by Apache leaders (Parmee 1959-1961a: 23-24).

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*From a personal letter by the author to Marvin Mull, Chairman, San Carlos Apache Tribe, March 8, 1962.

In 1960, however, there were other tribally-appointed committees that did not function as effectively as the education committee, which met at least once every month and had year-round projects under way. A great deal depended upon the individual leadership of the committees, and although some of it was very weak, few Apaches were willing to openly criticize the councilmen who were in charge. The fact was, some Apaches did not understand this Anglo-American concept of civic and committee leadership, and for this reason hesitated to take active command of their assigned positions (Parmee 1959-1961a: 94-95).

Even among the few citizens' groups that did exist at San Carlos during the time of this study (i.e., women's hospital auxiliary, Boy Scouts, church parish clubs), cooperative activities seldom occurred and inter-group channels of communication were very weak or non-existent.

The management of law and order on the San Carlos Apache Reservation was a major responsibility of the tribal council. Each year it involved the largest council expenditure, which included the salaries of Apache judges, jailers, policemen and juvenile officers, plus all of their operational and vehicular expenses. From the many interviews with reservation officials, families, and tribal leaders, it was evident that alcoholism and its concurrent side-effects comprised one of the greatest law and order problems for the San Carlos Apaches (Parmee 1959-1961a: 36-38). As will be seen from the summary of court records below, juveniles (ages 10-17 years) as well as adults were affected.

In June of 1959, a survey of juvenile court records was made covering the period of June 1, 1958, through May 31, 1959. The following is a summary of these findings:

a) Out of more than 90% of all juveniles arrested, 26% were 16-year-olds, 25% were 17-year-olds, 25% were 15-year-olds, and 14% were 14-year-olds. The remaining 8% or so included age groups 10 through 13 years.

b) April, May, June, July, August, and December had the highest rate of arrests, averaging 27 cases per month.

c) The range of charges for arrest ran as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| —disorderly conduct, drunkenness, disobedience* | 55% |
| —curfew violation | 7% |
| —assault | 6% |
| —carrying a concealed weapon | 6% |
| —theft | 5% |
| —smoking, failure to go to school, running away from home, traffic violation, illicit cohabitation, vandalism, resisting arrest, escape from jail, and parole violation | each less than 5% |

d) Out of 180 recorded court decisions, 90 juveniles were given probation, 76 were given jail terms ranging from 10 to more than 120 days, and 14 were given into parental custody. Appeals from parents or relatives often released children before the completion of their terms, but it was the policy of the tribal court to keep each juvenile sentenced to jail at least a few days in his cell in order to "teach him a lesson" (Parmee 1959-1961a: 80, 82).

Various types of social pressures, derived from remnants of traditional Apache customs and beliefs, frequently caused families and individuals to become discouraged when trying to modernize or improve their home or personal conditions. More traditionally-oriented Apaches would accuse such people of being traitors to their God-given culture and becoming like "Whites." If the accused were at all sensitive to such criticisms they sometimes left the reservation or gave up their desires for modernizing (Parmee 1959-1961a: 95).

In Chapter 2 (see page 24) it has been shown how such pressures existed on many reservations, inhibiting attempts at personal achievement among students as well as adults. Both "Danny" and "Jed" had apparently felt the sting of such reprimands. Some Apaches, in fact, were convinced that these social pressures were responsible in part for the low number of Apache college graduates and trained Apache reservation employees (Parmee 1959-1961a: 95). Understandably, however, not all Apaches heeded these sanctions.

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*This charge was primarily used against juveniles who had been drinking, causing disorder, and illegally procuring liquor.

### POLITICAL PROBLEMS

On most reservations as in many non-Indian communities, economic power and political power went hand-in-hand. The San Carlos Reservation was no exception. Agencies like the BIA and Public Health Service were permitted no part in tribal politics; but, by the mere fact of their economic potential, they acted as powerful governing forces on the reservation. The Apache tribal council, on the other hand, as was pointed out earlier in the discussion of community economic problems, was often frustrated in its efforts to legislate new programs or changes in existing ones because of its own economic impotence and its consequent dependency on alien assistance.

To the average Apache reservation inhabitant this gave not only the feeling of being dominated and of being forced into a way of life not of his own choosing, but it also had the demoralizing effect of making him feel helpless and inferior as he watched his elected leaders make often futile demands upon alien people directed by unknown or incomprehensible laws and regulations originated in a place called "Washington."*

Many Apaches today have very meager knowledge of the basic principles and designs of democratic community government. Although their traditional forms of social and political organization have long ago been changed, little has been done to teach them the fundamental tenets of the new forms of government. As a result, some Apache leaders today are not informed adequately so that they can function effectively as legislative representatives of their own local districts. This has its deleterious effects upon the people as a whole.

In 1960-61, for example, nearly every Apache interviewed was highly critical of his council. Typical comments included: The council's activities are suspect; sometimes it appears disinterested in its own people; some leaders are self-centered; it doesn't do anything; it is often helpless in times of need (Parmee 1959-1961b: 27-29). This was more than ordinary bellyaching. It was the result of a continual lack of opportunities for the Apache people to participate in democratic government. It reflected public disfavor over the few local district meetings and the many closed council sessions; over the little effort to inform the public of the "hows" and "whys" of government operations, new programs, and changes in long-standing policies; and over much high level manipulation (Parmee 1959-1961a: 237-246, 254-256, 272-272a).

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*For a better understanding of this phenomenon the reader is advised to study the implementation of the San Carlos and Bylas school conversion program as described in the field LOG on pages 230-309 (Parmee 1959-1961a).

## Factors Within the Family Environment

### WIDESPREAD POVERTY

At the time of this study, federal, state, and private welfare programs on the San Carlos Reservation spent great sums of money to alleviate the extremely low or non-existent incomes of hundreds of Apache families.* The largest of these programs was operated by the local BIA welfare department. Not all Apaches agreed with the manner in which this program functioned, however. Criticism was chiefly aimed at the apparent lack of constructive operational goals and case records, which resulted in a rather arbitrary disbursement of funds (Parmee 1959-1961a: 154-157). There were also no apparent provisions in the program for the eventual reduction in welfare dependency among Apaches. This writer, for example, observed no efforts being made to assist families in the efficient management of their available incomes, even though it was clearly obvious that such assistance would have helped many cases.

While much of the existing poverty on the San Carlos Reservation was the result of deflated cattle incomes and higher costs of living, as well as widespread unemployment, many families became welfare cases perhaps sooner than necessary because of poor financial planning. Many incurred heavy debts through unwise buying and the over-extension of their credits at the local stores. The following actual case study will illustrate some of the demoralizing effects experienced by many Apache families through the excessive use of credit resources and public welfare.

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*Regrettably, no per-capita or total annual expenditure figures were available, but nearly all boarding school children came from welfare recipients. Elderly folks were generally on welfare.

> The "A" family was once financially solvent. They handled most of their purchasing through one or two of the local traders who conveniently managed most of the family's financial affairs. Mrs. "A" went to the traders' stores and bought what she needed. When Mr. "A" received his cattle check twice each year he simply went to each trader and paid off his entire bill, seldom fully aware of what his money was spent for. He usually was able to cover the bill and that was all that concerned him. He felt pretty good, in fact, because at times there was some cash left over for pocket money, or perhaps for a new car or pickup. Occasionally, when Mr. "A's" bill was very high and there was not going to be much pocket money left over, he simply informed the tribal office to have his check turned over to the stores (this usually happened with a bill at some large store like the Tribal Store) and this way he did not have to bother making the transaction himself.
>
> The "A" family managed well until the prices of cattle dropped. There was a drought and the sales had to be postponed. Then came the day when Mr. "A" could no longer pay off as many of his bills as he had before, and his credit limit was severely curtailed. This put a crimp in the "A" family's style, because they were used to much freer spending, and in fact, it took them some time to adjust to the situation. Now they had accumulated such heavy bills—in comparison to their decreased income—that the traders were forced to curtail the "A" family's credit more and more, and requested that Mr. "A's" income checks be withheld from any member of the family for fear that they would be spent before some of the bills were paid off. From this time on, Mr. "A" was lucky to even see one of his income checks, much less have the pleasure of owning it for a while. This made him very bitter.

As the years passed, Mr. "A's" family grew, and his needs increased—as did his bills—but his income from cattle did not. He worked part-time now to help out a bit, but there simply was not much work he could do on the reservation. His relationship with the traders was no longer very friendly, and he and his wife had to fight for every penny of credit they could get. Sometimes they even tried trading elsewhere, but the other traders on the reservation knew the "A" family's situation and saw that they were poor credit risks. Their requests were gracefully turned aside.

Then Mr. "A" lost his part-time job. It seemed as if Mr. "A" and his family were to face starvation. The little help they formerly received from Mrs. "A's" relatives was now turned down because they were becoming too much of a burden. There were arguments and a few fights—and that ended that. Mr. "A" cursed the stinginess of Mrs. "A's" folks and the two families refused to speak to one another. The one who felt worst of all was Mrs. "A," who was ashamed of their helplessness and sorry for the rift between their families.

Mr. "A" vented more of his anger on the traders who stoically received his abuse but offered him no further credit. Each knew he had already given in to Mr. "A" more than was good for either party. Mr. "A" even made a plea to the tribal council for a horse or a tractor so he could do some farming to help with his family's needs for food—but then he also needed seed, fertilizer, etc., etc. The council was unable to help him. Mr. "A" returned home very dejected, wondering what good the council was if it could not help him.

Mr. "A's" economic problems finally reached a climax when the new school year began. The children needed new shoes, dresses, levis, jackets, etc. and the family simply did not have the funds to cover these new items. Mr. "A" informed Mrs. "A" that she would have to pay a visit to the Welfare Office and ask at least for new clothes. Mrs. "A" was not very happy about this because she had heard that it was not easy to convince that "welfare lady" that help was needed—and besides, she was a bit ashamed to have to sit with all those other women in the waiting room, hearing their gossip about others, and knowing that they would gossip about her as soon as she had gone. Mrs. "A" had never cared to associate with them before, and now it seemed they were all in the same predicament.

It was a bit of a struggle—with the embarrassments, the language problems, and all—but Mrs. "A" finally managed to get some help from welfare. She even managed to get a couple of the older children off to boarding school. They usually kept the food bills so high and were getting a bit hard to handle, anyway, she thought. But Mrs. "A" was sorry to have to send the oldest girl away. She had become a real companion now that the family was no longer on such good terms with her relatives. Mr. "A" appeared to be getting more and more despondent, more bitter and quite complaining. He could not find a job and soon got tired of sitting around the house listening to the children make noises and Mrs. "A's" incessant chatter. He knew she was unhappy about the fight with her relatives and having to accept welfare, but there did not seem to be much he could do about it. To him, it seemed like a dirty deal all the way around: no more herd, no jobs, and the traders turning their backs whenever they saw him coming. Sometimes it all made him so mad and disgusted that he would leave his home and go off to visit with some of the other men who were hanging around like him. Some of them had the same hard-luck stories he had to tell, so at least they were sympathetic company. Once in a while if anyone had a few extra dollars, they even went over to the bootleggers and bought a few bottles of "brew." It was something to do, anyway.

The following year Mr. "A" tried to send off two more of the older children to boarding school, but he was told that the schools were all filled up. These two now had to go to public school. Mrs. "A" was really glad. She did not care to be separated from her children, even though Mr. "A" did not seem to mind it in the least. During the first week of public school it seemed as if everything was going to work out quite well, for the kids seemed to enjoy their new experience. The delight was short-lived, however, for one day one of the children brought home a bill for books and supplies. The other said he needed a special kind of gym shoes.

The children were afraid to go back to school without the money so they stayed home for the next few days while Mr. "A" went to see the chairman of the education committee and the reservation principal. He did not trust his wife in this important matter, and besides, he felt it was about time he gave those people a piece of his mind and told them what he thought of their education program. He did, too. He told them that he was a high school graduate. He was not uneducated like "some of these Indians around here." He even learned a trade. But what good did it do him? He had no job, no money. His wife had to ask for welfare. His children needed new clothes, they wanted more meat to eat—and that public school had the nerve to ask him for $12 for books and $6 for special gym shoes! What kind of a gym did they have down there, anyway, that his boy had to have special shoes to walk on it? That must be for rich people, for white people! What happened to our own high school? Everything was better then.

But Mr. "A" did not return home dissatisfied. The chairman of the education committee talked the credit manager into letting Mr. "A" have enough credit to buy the gym shoes and some more food besides, and the reservation principal called the public school and asked them to waive the costs of the books. They reluctantly complied. During the next few months when Mr. "A" received a dividend check for some special V.A. benefits, he and Mrs. "A" kept it a secret even from their friends, and then went out and spent it as they pleased. It was a long time since they had had the pleasure of such freedom. The creditors could "scratch for the money" as far as Mr. "A" was concerned. They controlled all of his cattle income by now, anyway, he lamented.

Mr. "A" and his friends complained vehemently when the tribal council tried to pass a bill for income taxes on cattle sales, but it went through. Some political machine, that council, Mr. "A" and his friends thought. There was no doubt in their minds that it was in cahoots with the trading enterprises and the public schools to

> exploit unfortunate Indians like themselves. They agreed such things deserved as little of their support as possible (taken from Parmee 1959-1961c: 11-17).

The ability to plan an efficient family budget is not an inherent characteristic among any people. It is a learned behavior; and many people the world over, even in countries where thrift is a matter of national pride, find it difficult to effectively assimilate this behavior. So much more difficult was it then for Apaches, who, less than four generations ago, "had been a subsistence-oriented group, operating on a seasonal basis, placing little value on thrift or on sustained labor throughout the year. . . [after which] being placed on the reservation, most of the Indians lived almost thirty years on rations provided by the United States Government" (Getty 1961-62: 185).

When, in addition, one considers the tradition of economic inter-dependence within extended family and clan relations (see pp. 25-26), as well as the apparent absence of opportunities to learn about new forms of family economics, it is of little wonder that many Apaches were inexperienced and inept in the art of budgeting. Coupled with generally low incomes and large numbers of children, such conditions caused many Apache families to be hard pressed for school clothes, books and supplies, and adequate household facilities for homework and study. It seems altogether possible that existing welfare services on the San Carlos Reservation may perpetuate the economic dependency of Apache families unless changes are made in some of its fundamental practices.

## BREAKDOWN IN TRADITIONAL APACHE FAMILY RELATIONS

In Chapter 2 the significance of the traditional Apache gotah system of family authority and inter-dependency has already been discussed at some length. The present disintegration of this socio-economic institution was evidenced by the literature (Kaut 1957: 84; Marinsek 1960: 37-38) and illustrated by some of the data regarding family economics (the case of the "A" family). In addition to the obvious material effects produced by such changes, it was apparent from much of the interview data that Apache methods of child-rearing—particularly at the teen-age level—had changed considerably in form, if not in function.

It was interesting to note that while Apache parents frequently criticized teachers and school officials for reprimanding Apache children in class, many of the same parents used almost identical methods of discipline—not within the traditional setting of the gotah or household, but in the setting of the tribal court system modeled after Anglo-American patterns of jurisprudence. It was not uncommon for a parent experiencing difficulty in disciplining a teen-age child to call upon the tribal court to deal firmly with the youth, even if it meant issuing a jail term. The judge would comply; then when it was thought that the child had served long enough to have "learned a lesson," he was released into the custody of his parents (Parmee 1959-1961a: 80, 82).

The traditional element of public ridicule entered into this picture at the juvenile court hearing when parents of accused children were asked to testify against them before the entire courtroom assemblage, including judges, police officers, and other arrested youths and their parents. The following actual court incident will help to illustrate this form of behavior:

> The mother was asked to testify against her daughters. This she did with no restraint. I don't know what she said but frequently the two girls would glance at their mother with rather hurt expressions on their faces, and once in a while they would look at the floor and shake their heads negatively. Both girls were quite nervous and one was on the verge of crying, but she tried hard not to.
>
> Both were neatly dressed and sat close to one another. When the sentence was passed, the one girl nearly burst into tears, but after a few words from her sister (who seemed older) she subsided. At one time the older sister even made the younger one smile. There was obvious comradeship here and mutual support.
>
> After giving testimony, the mother simply turned her back on the two girls and walked out the door. They looked after her with blank expressions. Then, after the

hearing the girls walked away towards the prison together, arm-in-arm (Parmee 1959-1961a: 83).

Parental rejection of the two sisters was evident in the above case, but it appeared to be off-set somewhat by sibling "esprit de corps." In some cases, however, the parents seemed almost vengeful by the severity of their testimonies. As one Apache court employee put it:

> Often when the mother comes into court to testify against her daughter, she tries to be mean and says all sorts of things so her daughter won't disobey again. This morning, that mother told the judge all of her daughter's private affairs; what boyfriends she had, how she acts, and all kinds of things like that in order to embarrass the girl. That's not right. Those are private matters. Those are family matters which should not be discussed here in court in front of all these people. The daughter tries hard not to cry though (Parmee 1959-1961a: p. 84).

Apache court discipline was also used for drop-outs and for children delinquent in school. In fact, during the spring of 1959, when teen-age drop-outs had become particularly prevalent, the tribal education committee agreed to place the full responsibility for this problem in the hands of the tribal judge, who promptly announced that he would put the parents as well as the students in jail if they refused to comply with school attendance regulations (Parmee 1959-1961a: 71-74).

Opinions regarding the constructive effectiveness of this system of discipline varied greatly at the time. Some Apache leaders agreed with it whole-heartedly, as the decision of the education committee indicated. Most Anglos felt it was a cruel and rather unconstructive way to deal with adolescents, predicting that it would have serious harmful effects on their personalities.*

This last view appeared quite plausible, when considering the many juvenile cases in which it was evident that current values, behavior patterns, and institutions had failed to adequately replace their earlier traditional forms; failed for parents as well as children, but primarily for the children who were expected to endure these conflicts and still return to school each day with minds at ease, eager to assimilate the teachings of an alien culture.

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*Opinions expressed primarily by school administrators and the local welfare worker.

## Factors Within the Program of Formal Education

### SPECIAL NEEDS OF APACHES AT PRIMARY GRADE LEVELS INADEQUATELY MET BY SCHOOLS

As a starting point for the discussion of this topic, the author again cites the words of the recent former chairman of the San Carlos Apache Tribe:

> . . . I suspect our schools are not beginning to tackle adequately the basic difficulties of language—the simple problem of communication—of understanding and being understood—which confronts on all sides, the non-acculturated Indian child as he gets further along in school where both ideas and vocabulary become increasingly complex. I suspect that this failure to comprehend on the part of the Indian child accounts in large measure for the lessening of interest and enthusiasm for school, which I am told begins for Indian children along about the fifth grade (Wesley 1961: 4).

The findings of this study indeed bear out the suspicions of Wesley quoted above. With the project office located at the San Carlos federal day school for several months, the author had many opportunities to observe the methods used in teaching Apache elementary students. All of the teachers at that time, even the most dedicated ones, lacked special language training to aid their Apache-speaking pupils. Even those teachers working with the Beginners' classes (in which nearly every enrolled pupil knew almost no English at the start) admitted that what they themselves lacked in training, they had to make do with ingenuity. Teachers' meetings were seldom held and virtually no assistance was given to the teachers during the school year.

As the youngest Apache students moved from grade to grade, their difficulties with language compounded as the work became more demanding. Competition at the Indian schools was relatively light, however, since most of the teachers were taught that Indians disliked competition, although occasionally favors or prizes were won by high achievers. Low achievers were made to feel as good as the rest even though the teacher had little time to spend giving them remedial work.

Some teachers solved the problem by dividing up the classes into various ability groups for reading, arithmetic, and other subjects. In one of the classes where this author did some substitute teaching, there were no less than five such groups for reading and arithmetic. It was extremely difficult to keep four of the groups actively working while testing the recitation of the fifth group. Many were left to idle away their time after completing desk assignments. Statements made by the reservation principal at that time supported these observations.

> . . . Some of this lack of interest and progress in learning is definitely the teachers' fault. Every time I walk into a class up here—and I do mean it has been the same every single time—I come in and find at least 50% of the students drawing pictures or just wasting time. And I've done this dozens of times, and it has always been the same. I think a lot of those kids are just passing the time of day (Parmee 1959-1961a: 188).

Charges and counter-charges kept shifting the blame for the slow academic progress of Apache students in the reservation day schools. Teachers blamed it on the lack of proper teaching aids and classes that were too large for the amount of remedial work needed by the students.* Another BIA educator of rank returned much of the fault to the teachers, some of whom, he said, had a "very poor" knowledge of correct English. In confirmation of his argument he recalled watching one teacher make grammatical errors in no less than eight out of ten sentences that had been written on the blackboard for students to copy (Parmee 1959-1961a: 187).

To what extent were Apache students entering the public schools after the fourth grade actually retarded? A Globe grammar school official stated that most entering Apache pupils were ill-prepared for public school work. Their knowledge of English was so poor that it was difficult to teach them anything new. Although remedial reading courses were offered in the Globe and Ft. Thomas schools, many Apaches apparently refused to take advantage of them (Parmee 1959-1961a: 196).

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*At San Carlos Day School the classes averaged between 25 and 35 students in 1960.

The inadequate preparation of Apache teen-age students in the higher grade levels was evident to some degree from their low grade-point averages and the extent of the age-grade lag in grades 4 through 12. One further attempt was made in 1961 to test the validity of these findings after the project staff fell heir to a considerable body of materials from one of the federal reservation school fourth grade classes; the materials consisted of the pupils' entire year's work in art, mathematics, spelling, theme-writing, English grammar, geography and science.

This material was brought for analysis and appraisal to the 1961 Workshop for Teachers of Bilingual Students, at the University of Arizona. Three public school teachers of the intermediary grade level (grades 4-6) spent several hours reviewing the work of every pupil, and came up with the following conclusions concerning both the extent of the students' scholastic progress and the nature of the teacher's techniques for instruction.

### The performance of the class

a) The students with the lowest achievement test scores appeared to be "down-right illiterate," responding in a manner that was "far below the fourth grade level."

b) Those students with the highest achievement test scores produced work that might be considered to be on a par with average non-Indian public school students, but they would probably find it difficult to compete in next year's fifth grade public school class, where the competition would be greater and the work somewhat more advanced.

c) Many of the middle-ranking students of this class did work that was far below the normal fourth grade level, especially in English and mathematics. Some of their work indicated only a first grade arithmetic concept level.

d) Much of the work of the class showed "great numbers of errors, which indicated either a real lack of understanding of fundamental concepts, or carelessness from poor motivation, or both." Many of the pupils "obviously did not comprehend or try to follow the teacher's instructions on worksheets and tests."

e) According to the standard performance indicated by these materials, the evaluation committee decided that the class as a whole was "poorly prepared for fifth grade public school work."

### An evaluation of the teacher's techniques

The panel of three public school teachers admitted that they were being highly critical of the teacher's techniques, by basing their judgment on the recommended standards of teaching, which are for any teacher difficult to follow precisely. They also admitted that this was not entirely an equitable appraisal because it was based primarily on the written work in class only, and not on the oral and illustrative work that presumably complemented the former in the classroom. In spite of these shortcomings, some interesting insights were revealed by the panel:

a) Judging by the written material that was presented to the class throughout the year, the teacher seemed to be "lost, groping around, and having great difficulty in coping with his pupils' academic problems."

b) His methods seemed inconsistent, unimaginative, and often confusing to the pupil; on the whole, poor planning was evident.

c) None of the tests or papers showed any corrections of the errors that were made in great numbers.

d) Some of the tests that were given to the pupils contained language errors that were made by the teacher. On the whole, the work that the teacher had prepared for his class was sloppy.

e) No apparent attempt had been made by the teacher to insist on following instructions—or if he did, there was no noticeable improvement throughout the year.

f) Many of the work sheets that were made up for the class were so poorly worded that their instructions were unclear.

g) According to the available material, no apparent effort was made on the part of the teacher to encourage his pupils to express themselves in terms of elements from their own cultural background.

From these statements, made by experienced teachers of the fourth grade level, one could conclude that this particular class of pupils was poorly prepared to meet the demands of the integrated class in public school the following year. By the end of the year, many were not even capable of doing fourth grade work and their teacher was apparently unable to cope with the serious problem of academic retardation that faced him. The outlook for his pupils' success in the higher grade levels appeared rather dim, indeed.

### DEFICIENCIES IN THE EDUCATION PROGRAM AT THE JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL LEVELS

As can be seen from the enrollment figures presented earlier in this report, the BIA San Carlos Agency was increasingly successful in its efforts to enroll Apaches in boarding school. Between 1958 and 1961, federal boarding school enrollment expanded 51.3 per cent, until it included more than 16% of the total student population on the reservation. While some agency officials (i.e., the reservation principal and the social worker) acclaimed this as an achievement, one Area Office administrator expressed concern and disapproval:

> "I realize only too well that home conditions on the San Carlos Reservation are as bad as you could find anywhere, but there are altogether too many Apaches being sent to boarding school."
>
> It was this person's opinion that the federal boarding schools were "a blessing" to many unfortunate youngsters from poor homes, but such schools were not the panacea for all the ills of Apache youngsters. It would be better, he said, to have more of them living at home,

> attending public school in the normal fashion with the availability of a stronger guidance program to help those who are having serious difficulties. He concluded by saying that the primary field for the solution of the educational problems at San Carlos was right on the reservation itself (Parmee 1959-1961b; 211-212).

Public school officials expressed an even dimmer view of local agency policies regarding boarding school enrollment. One administrator went so far as to say that Apaches should quit seeking "the easy way out" by going to all-Indian boarding schools, and should instead learn to "cut the mustard" in the public schools along with everyone else (Parmee, 1959-1961b: 215).

Basically, the three chief criticisms against the boarding school program were:

a) Apaches in boarding schools were isolated from non-Indians, socially as well as competitively. This isolation would eventually prolong the process of integration into Anglo society, which non-Apaches felt was a desirable thing (see above, page 7). Even some tribal officials agreed that school integration was an essential factor in the improvement of Apache education (Wesley 1961: 5).

b) None of the public school people interviewed felt that the academic standards at the boarding schools were as high as those of the average public day school. The then chairman of the tribal education committee also expressed the view that boarding school training was inadequate to meet the requirements for college preparatory training.*

c) One shortcoming in the boarding school program, criticized at various times by Apache leaders, is the lack of special facilities for the emotionally-disturbed Indian child (Wesley 1961: 6-7). Each year found teen-agers with serious personal problems being dismissed from public, mission, and even boarding schools. They returned to the reservation to generally poor home conditions and no future for which to live. Most of these students soon wound up in jail, incurring on occasion lengthy sentences, when instead they needed psychiatric care and a more constructive environment (Parmee 1959-1961a: 24, 59-60).

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*Personal conversation with the author.

At the time of this study in 1960, most Apache teenagers were attending public schools; and, as already seen from the analysis of school records, many were in serious academic trouble. Aside from the various existing personal and home environmental factors over which the schools had no control, there were factors in the public school program itself which obstructed the successful education of Apaches. It should be stated at the outset, however, that the public schools were not entirely to blame for these deficiencies. A part of the fault lay with those who maneuvered the change-over from reservation Indian schools to public schools: namely, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Apache leaders, who supported the plan without raising serious objections to its shortcomings.

Although the change-over described on pages 41-42 had begun and ended long before this study began, there was ample evidence from the interviews with school officials indicating that prior to the arrival of the first large influx of Apache students after 1949 no significant preparation had been made in the way of extra remedial facilities, curriculum adjustments, or teacher orientation (Scoggins 1959: 64). As one school administrator put it:

> We first knew about it three months before school got out. That was in the spring. In the fall of that year we had them in our schools. There wasn't any preparation—other than physical and financial*—made for the change-over. It happened all at once (Parmee 1959-1961a: 199).

Considering the inadequacies in the program of the on-reservation government schools, it is not difficult to understand the extreme handicaps many Apaches must have felt in the public school education program without any of the provisions mentioned above. Even by 1960, nearly ten years after the first large group of Apaches had entered the public high schools, little had been achieved in the way of devising special academic programs for the Indian students beyond the limited acceleration of remedial reading facilities (Parmee 1959-1961a: 196).

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*Referring to enlargement of the physical plant and staff, and establishment of Johnson-O'Malley support.

Instead of tribal, BIA, and public school cooperation in a planned program that might have aided Apache youngsters with the transition from federal to public schools, the public schools were apparently left on their own to make the best of it. Some did by putting Apaches in so-called "slow-groups" (Parmee 1959-1961a: 197-198), and by granting social promotions to a large number. At Globe the guidance counselor was expected to allot half his working time to Indian student problems, while at Ft. Thomas the school superintendent-principal made himself available at all times for such purposes.*

In spite of the available counseling services in the public schools, the standard methods for evaluating the nature and extent of Apache personal and academic problems and the techniques for measuring individual Apache potentials and interests seemed quite inadequate. Bernardoni's findings, described on pages 56-59, at least showed the shortcomings and pitfalls inherent in tests like the Lorge-Thorndike series, when using them to compare Indians with non-Indians (Bernardoni 1960: 11). Where language differences made comprehension of the test difficult for the student and the lack of a double set of known cultural standards obstructed the testor's comparison of the responses, such devices could only be partially successful in achieving the goals for which they were intended.

It was also evident at the time of this study that some of the schools, and especially the BIA agency, were not maintaining adequate records for the purpose of periodically evaluating the students' progress and the program's effectiveness. All of the data summaries presented thus far, with the exception of the school enrollment figures and the Lorge-Thorndike test results, were collected and organized by the project staff. Although each student had his individual record file at the school he was currently attending, the author knew of no efforts on the part of school administrators to compile such records into periodic summaries for the purposes of trend evaluations* (Parmee 1959-1961b: 1-6).

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*The guidance counselor at Globe was reputed to have spent very little time doing any counseling at all (Parmee 1959-1961a: 196-197). In fact, he himself admitted to the author once that very few Indian students (boys in particular) ever came to him with problems [notes from case history of "Bert"]. This perhaps explains in part why some Apache students like "Bert" did not even know of the counselor's services.

At times it appeared that school staff evaluations of Apaches expressed more of personal views and impressions than validated findings. A brief sample of collected comments should suffice to illustrate this point:

> They [Apaches] could work as well as other students if they would get out of their I-don't-care attitudes (public school teachers) (Parmee 1959-1961a: 193).
>
> Apaches are one of the smartest Indian tribes in the Southwest, and also one of the most hostile, most stubborn, and meanest. . . . They are a bit lazy, too (public school employee) Parmee 1959-1961a: 213-214).
>
> The trouble is, these [Apache] people don't want education. They think it's poison. They hold ceremonies every year to do away with all the evils their kids have picked up in school! (reservation school principal) (Crumrine 1959: 29).
>
> Apaches are at the bottom of the barrel as far as Indians go. They are the dumbest and worst off economically. They don't want to be educated, and they don't want to get out from under the government (public school counselor) (Crumrine 1959: 40).

It would have been difficult to estimate how many non-Apache school personnel shared these views, but it was plain enough to see that prejudice was not restricted to any one school or occupational level. Some of these views among public school people remained because few ever came on the reservation to see things for themselves. Out of the few who did, some went back with their suspicions even more strongly confirmed than before—or so they said.

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*The record of one year's total absences by the Bylas school principal was the sole exception known.

### CONFLICTS ARISING OUT OF THE ORIENTATION OF THE EDUCATION PROGRAM

Thus far, much has been said about the lack of Apache participation in the operation of the education program. This alien management of a key reservation development program did not permit Apaches to guide the fate of their own future, nor did it provide them with the opportunities for learning how to do so (Wesley 1961: 7). Apaches resented being denied this privilege and did what they could to fight against it (Parmee 1959-1961a: 230-309).

A second fundamental criticism that Apache leaders expressed again and again in opposition to the education program evolved out of a conflict of basic goals for the program.

> I realize the fact that there are people who talk about integration, assimilation, acculturation, first class citizenship, etc. But you know the American Indians have something different that was bestowed upon them by the grace of God, such as our songs, tribal dances, arts and crafts, our religion, games and stories. Some of these are fast disappearing and my question is: are we going to continue to lose these precious gifts through this process of education or becoming White men? Or should we continue to identify ourselves as Indians, which to me is no disgrace. (Wesley 1961: 7).

The "people" Wesley referred to were the administrators of agencies managing Indian affairs, school officials, and off-reservation politicians. It was these people, who by means of their economic and political power and their educational advantage held the fate of many reservation programs in their hands. Directing programs of integration to facilitate the earliest possible assimilation of Indians into the larger American culture was a primary orientation of their thoughts and actions.

This orientation was expressed in their public speeches (Head 1960: 24), in their programs of relocation, public school integration (Parmee 1959-1961a: 197, 301), and tribal government, and in their day-to-day dealings with Indians (Parmee 1959-1961a: 301). Tribal leaders like Annie Wauneka (1963) and Clarence Wesley (1961) tended to react negatively to this imposed Anglo orientation of Indian programs, as did many of their followers, even though they worked hard to bring such programs to their respective reservations. Thus, while they feared that the implementation of these programs might on the one hand accelerate the extinction of Indian culture, they also could not deny the fact that formal education was a key factor in solving existing social and economic problems, by raising the educational standards of their people.

Apache teen-agers did not express the same fears as the older generation. From the many student interviews and case histories, like those presented in this study, it was evident that some were not so concerned about the future—not even their own, much less the future of their whole tribe. On the other hand, others, such as "Jed," felt they could be educated and still remain Apache. To them "Apache" had a different meaning from that of the "old folks." It was less characterized perhaps by ancient ceremonials, mythology, and socio-religious customs, but it meant "Apache" nevertheless, and its principal features were clearly modern. As the new-generation Apache tribal chairman described it:

> If we have better housing, health, better jobs on the reservation, does this mean that we won't be Indians anymore? No, it doesn't. If an Indian wants to be an Indian he can be one all of his life. You don't forget your Indian upbringing easily, even when you have the highest education (Mull 1963: 30-31).

Older, more tradition-oriented Apaches like Wesley failed to see things quite this way. Much of their lives' efforts were spent in trying to preserve the many unique traditional aspects of Apache culture that were "bestowed upon them by the grace of God" (Wesley 1961: 7). Less educated Apaches, however, could not always, like Wesley, see the positive as well as the negative effects of education, and their resistance to many programs of modernization directly influenced the lives of their children, for it made understanding difficult between the young and the old, and added further to the already staggering proportions of existing teen-age problems.

## CHAPTER 5

# *Relevant Issues and Observations*

The program of education for San Carlos Apaches, represented in the main by federal and public education agencies during 1959-1961, failed to achieve its stated objectives of educating and integrating Apache children for the mainstream of American life because it was not a community-wide program of academic and fundamental education, designed to meet the specific local needs of *all* age groups in the Apache society. As such, it ignored the importance of the relationship between each child and the family-community environment in which he was raised.

The existing program sought to teach only the younger generations of Apaches in the hope that they would eventually acquire the same values, literacy, and job-skills as the non-Indians. Lacking in adequate counseling and remedial services for most handicapped Apache students, however, the program was unable to overcome some of the most basic academic problems.

Meanwhile, those responsible for the program impeded the efforts of the schools even further by neglecting to give Apache parents and leaders the opportunity to raise their own educational standards. This would have required a special program of fundamental education and encouragement of more active participation in community affairs. This sort of preparation would have enabled many adults to function more effectively in support of their children and the program as a whole, a role which they were expected to fulfill.

At a now famous conference of educators and anthropologists, Bernard Siegel (1955: 38-49) discussed the basic channels through which "explicit culture" reaches the child in the modern American community.

Channel I: Educational Institutions

1) In the academic community the form and meaning of transmitted material enter this channel through the teachers of teachers.

2) The teachers and administrators of the community schools determine what enters the school system itself in accordance with their own values and motivations.

Channel II: Peer Groups and Cliques

1) Here the most constant and consistent kinds of action patterns and attitudes are instilled, providing influences that will often override school and family teachings.

2) Participation in peer groups and cliques is often an index of unsatisfied needs or frustations felt within the school system.

Channel III: The Home

1) The hierarchy of values, beliefs, and behavior patterns of parents are usually reinforced by kinsmen and family friends.

At San Carlos, it seemed that the last two channels—peer groups and home influences—were not regarded by local educators as potentially constructive sources of Apache education; hence, there was no attempt to adapt and include them as a part of the formal educative process. On the contrary, efforts were made to remove young Apaches from their home and peer-group environments by sending as many as possible to the federal and mission boarding schools. Except, perhaps, for a few extreme "skid-row" cases, this attempt to divorce students from distinctive Apache ways developed in the reservation milieu did not succeed. As long as there existed an Apache reservation, there lived an Apache people with a distinct Apache language and heritage and a way of life that could be attributed solely to them. To the overwhelming majority of Indians born and raised in this place, it was "home" in every known sense of the word. In spite of the poverty, social ills, and political conflicts that prevailed there, it was nevertheless the only spot on the globe that belonged undisputedly to the Apaches, and it symbolized for many their past, present, and promise of a future.

By refusing to accept family and community influences as a part of the education of Apache teen-agers, the program initiated by the Whites became a major source of confusion and frustration, rather than one of motivation and learning. At home on the reservation, many children were taught to respect traditional beliefs and taboos, to learn their native tongue, and to behave in the manner of their elders. In school, these same children were being compelled to learn English and were scolded for speaking Apache. They were being exposed to books that depicted their ancestors as thieves and murderers, while the White man was shown as the highest achievement of civilization. In school, these same teen-agers were told that the environment of their home—their reservation—was corruptive and degrading, and opposed to progress. Such was the prevailing atmosphere of learning.

From the very start of his schooling, the average Apache child suffered handicaps: the deprivations of his home life (i.e., poverty, drinking, illiteracy, socio-cultural disintegration) and the incompatibilities of his unique heritage with the dominant Anglo culture (i.e., language, values, beliefs). The schools were for the most part unprepared to assist the Apache child in overcoming these handicaps. Adequate remedial training was lacking, counseling services were weak and ineffective in handling the often unique Apache problems, and much of the orientation of the program was at odds with the goals and needs expressed by the Apache people.

In most cases, as the student moved on from grade to grade, finally entering into the integrated public school system, the academic, social, and financial demands sharply increased. Apaches had to compete with Anglos, who were more intellectually motivated and socially aggressive, and whose ethnic background more directly coincided with the school curriculum and disciplinary methods. Off the reservation in a less secure environment of limited social acceptance, particularly within the peer-group structure, Apaches were faced with the additional problem of adjusting to the question of their social identity and of accepting the values and behavior patterns established within each status ascribed.

Many of the Apache students interviewed at the time of this study soon realized, after entering the off-reservation public schools, that the patterns had long since been established. Their cultural differences were now more pronounced than ever in the mixed ethnic environment. Not only were appearances, interests, and overt mannerisms different, language discrepancies made even casual communication with Anglos somewhat difficult. Consequently, Apache children sought and quickly found security within their own Apache cliques.

In the classrooms Anglo-Apache differences reached their extremes. As the complexity of the curriculum mounted from grade level to grade level, the intensity of the problems worsened for the Apaches. Some were shuffled into retarded classes, while others were merely passed along with social promotions. Although no one—Anglo or Apache—ever openly admitted it, it was difficult to hide the fact that the Apaches comprised the major portion of the school problem cases.

While educators, tribal leaders and elders urged Apache teen-agers to meet the growing challenges of the future through higher education, for many the task became increasingly futile. In the midst of these frustrations, some students simply withdrew into themselves and retired from the scene, first mentally, then physically. Then they were marked as drop-outs. Others sought support from the limited sources available to them: the peer group, the family or elders, and outside agencies or acquaintances.

The Apache teen-age peer group could offer very little in the way of constructive support for school problems, for it consisted primarily of other frustrated students experiencing basically the same problems. They could offer sympathy and comradeship through clique or gang activities (i.e., walking around at night, drinking, mischief-making at ceremonials, etc.), and by expounding the rejection of academic goals as being "White" and not "Apache." Those students not willing to accept these negative values and the related philosophy of despair risked being branded as "White" and losing many peer friends. A rare few, like "Danny" and "Jed," mustered the courage to break away from their peers, but they had by then found outside sources of support to rely on.

A chief source of support for the Apache teen-ager might have been the family or elders, but in a great number of cases this potential source had not been prepared for the responsibilities that now were imposed upon it by the modern educational system. The educators, who so ardently implored the support of Apache parents and in fact depended heavily upon them, had made no provisions to teach parents how to comply with their responsibilities. The school system had even ignored their requests for assistance and their desire to share in the task of running the program.

Neglecting to give Apache parents and tribal leaders an active role in the design and operation of their community education system not only gave rise to a bitter resentment among much of the adult population (which was then passed on to many students), but it also left many cooperative parents and elders helpless in sharing the burdens of their children. As the traditional extended family system of mutual support deteriorated, more and more of the burden of raising children fell upon the shoulders of the parents. But as the children proceeded up the academic ladder, there grew a kind of progressive alienation between the two generations that made parental assistance increasingly unattainable. This alienation was primarily the result of the vast discrepancy in educational and experiential backgrounds between the students and adults, and it succeeded in compounding the frustrations of both groups as they struggled with the problems of their swiftly changing environment.

Considering, then, the spread and severity of personal, family, and community problems among the San Carlos Apaches, it is not difficult to understand why so many teenagers were failing in school, taking to drink, and feeling despondent and apathetic about their future career possibilities. Unable to help each other, Apache students and parents were frequently dependent upon outside sources for assistance. While this procedure did at times avert a family crisis, the sources were in the author's opinion far too inadequate to cope with the majority of day-to-day minor crises that occurred, which frequently grew into insoluble dilemmas. While teachers often expressed a certain degree of sympathy for their Apache students, they generally had little contact or experience with reservation life, and they were at a loss as to how to assist.

As mentioned earlier, the extent of counseling services for both Apache students and parents was quite meager in 1960, and the few individuals involved could not begin to attack the root causes of the problems discussed above. Neither could the principal, the school counselor, nor the tribal juvenile officer begin to bridge the gap left by years of neglect in such areas as adult education and local community management.

At the conclusion of the study it was evident that certain actions seemed warranted in order to bring about significant improvement in the education of San Carlos Apaches. Such actions might include:

1) an intensive community-wide training program to improve adult educational standards and increase adult understanding of community problems and programs in order to qualify more Apaches for participation in local education and development projects;

2) On-the-job training programs and special courses for all Apache political leaders and officials to assist them in improving the performance of their assigned duties, and to help them comprehend more fully the fundamentals of modern community government;

3) improved and increased relationships between the schools and Apache families and community groups to expand their share of participation in the program and to increase the knowledge of school teachers and administrators about Apache culture, motivations, and problems;

4) improved and expanded guidance and rehabilitation services for students and their families with programs involving drinking, marital conflicts, child-rearing, school work, etc., as well as the exploration of better methods for measuring Apache student potentials and defining problems.

5) increased remedial training for Apaches in school with

serious language handicaps and retardation in other academic subject areas; the use of remedial summer school sessions with Apache adults as volunteer instructors; procedure allowing Apache "Beginners" to enroll in regular school sessions at the age of five years;

6) a selection of courses on Apache culture and history in the curriculum of education for Apache youngsters in order to acquaint them with their past heritage and to dispel existing distortions of fact resulting from years of prejudice;

7) expanded student summer employment, exploring the possibilities of apprenticeship programs in job skills applicable to reservation employment needs;

8) and finally, the establishment of a new policy prevailing over all others throughout the direction and operation of the program of education for Apaches: *The only manner of achieving a successful program is by seeing to it that it is designed to meet specific needs, to include active Apache participation in every phase, and to have as its ultimate goal, a stronger, healthier, and more self-sustaining Apache reservation community with a progressive citizenry.*

As anthropologist Margaret Mead once wrote:

> If the new education is to fill the place of the old, it has to cover all areas of living. Native education included growing-up; it gave instruction in inter-personal relationships, soil conservation, and ways of making a living. The task of fundamental education is to cover the whole of living. In addition, it is to teach not only new ways, but the need and incentive for new ways (Mead, et al. 1955: 253).
>
> With the new conception of education as covering all areas of living came the recognition of society as the unit to be educated (Mead, et al. 1955: 254).
>
> Education is needed in all these areas to cope with and repair the destruction already introduced; and beyond this, to make it possible for the people if they choose, to take their place in the community of nations, and to take advantage of the progress of science and technology in improving their standard of living (Mead, et al. 1955: 253).

## A Review of Developments Since 1961

In 1966, the author toured the San Carlos Reservation and adjacent areas to interview local education officials. From their comments it was evident that some significant changes had occurred in certain phases of the program of education for Apaches.

Shortly after the conclusion of the project, the Bylas federal day school was closed down and all the Bylas school-aged children (except for those in boarding and mission schools) were bussed into the newly-expanded public school facilities at Ft. Thomas. In an effort to cope with some of the special needs of this increased Apache enrollment—Apache students now comprise between 75% and 80% of the total student body—Ft. Thomas educators introduced new methods of testing and evaluation. Out of this evolved a program of non-graded classes for students between grade levels 1 through 8. A much stronger emphasis was placed upon reading throughout the Ft. Thomas program, and new facilities in the form of a reading lab and a resource center were added. Specialized training for teachers through a project sponsored by the Kellogg Foundation with the University of Arizona also helped the staff at Ft. Thomas to strengthen their approach to the solution of educational problems.

Globe Public Schools, meanwhile, made an attempt to improve their guidance program with the establishment of a full-time Indian counselor.

At San Carlos the Bureau of Indian Affairs is gradually phasing out its day school program, converting the facilities into a local public school system called Rice School District. Apache children are now permitted to enter kindergarten at the age of 5 years, and steps are being taken to reduce the size of classes to 25 students. Regular staff meetings and special orientation projects for San Carlos teachers are also helping to improve teacher preparedness for coping with Apache student problems. A remedial reading program has also been started at San Carlos, and with the help of Public Law 89-10 under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, adult education classes have begun. Thus far

(May, 1966), the curriculum appears to be limited to primarily academic subjects, such as English, mathematics, reading, etc. and the enrollment is quite small.

After the appointment of an Apache Community Action Program Director in early 1966, the number of Apaches involved in community development work on the reservation has increased considerably. A PTA has also been under way at San Carlos during the last two years, with approximately 90 paid members, mostly Apaches (according to a statement by the Reservation Principal). An Apache housewife was elected chairman in 1966. In both Ft. Thomas and Rice Public School districts, Apaches have been elected to serve on the local school boards, a milestone in the history of Apache education.

In spite of the new developments described above, it was apparent from the interviews with school officials that many of the fundamental problems in Apache education still exist. Surveys by school officials revealed the majority of Apache students in the intermediate grade levels (5, 6, and 7) to be two to four years below the normal reading standards for their grades. Social promotions are still prevalent as are drop-outs and transfers. In one school, teachers identified 160 out of approximately 450 enrolled Apaches as exceedingly unresponsive to the teachers' efforts in class. The categories of suggested problems under which these students were listed included: withdrawn, may need psychiatric help, retardation, may need specialized education. Inadequate academic preparation in the primary grades was still cited as a major cause of academic problems at the higher grade levels.

Social and economic problems affecting the education of Apache youngsters, and stemming primarily from inadequacies within the family and community environment, apparently continue to justify a proportionately high enrollment of Apaches in the boarding schools. In 1966, at least 25% out of a total tribal enrollment of 1,800 pupils was sent away to boarding school, according to a local BIA official. Poverty, drinking, and broken homes were given as some of the primary problems for these Apache children. Another school official said he was

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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

discouraged by the increasing number of Apache high school graduates who have taken to drink and idleness, when their performance in school predicted a much brighter future.

Within the reservation community, poverty and unemployment remain at a very high rate. The lack of funds was cited as a major factor contributing to the decline in activities of the Tribal Education Committee. Although federal Poverty Program funds have been applied to the local economy in different ways, sudden program changes have already made some Apaches wary of the reliability of these funds as a consistent means of support. There apparently is also some feeling among officials and local Apaches that Bylas does not experience its due share of involvement in some of these new development programs.

It is certainly not for this author to say, without the benefit of further investigation, what favorable effects the recent developments in Apache education will have in the long run. While some improvements are evident, particularly within the public school programs and the sole remaining BIA reservation day school, one cannot help but wonder if this is just a hand against the tide of vastly greater and more complex social and economic problems which have inundated virtually every aspect of present day reservation life for Apaches. It is this life which is in conflict with the environment of the schools. Its chaotic nature undermines each day the work of the carefully planned, systematized, and progressive program of formal education for Apache children, and it is the children themselves who must suffer the consequences along with their parents, who sit helplessly by the wayside and watch. This helplessness and the prolonged frustration that comes from years of having to accept one's fate from the hands of others can demoralize even the proudest of people as it has many Apaches.

There seems to be a greater awareness today on the San Carlos Reservation of the need to involve more Apaches in community affairs. This is a hopeful sign, and some of the federal Poverty Programs have helped to clear the path enabling Apaches to take hold of new responsibilities. But what if the funds supporting these programs should fail a few short years from now? In the light of present economic conditions on the reservation, the answer seems all too obvious.

Until the San Carlos Apaches are able to secure a stable economy on the reservation which can provide a more adequate source of income and employment for the people, they will remain at the mercy of outside resources which can be here today and gone tomorrow, depending upon the whims of a great many complex social, political, and economic factors that are far beyond the reach of local Apache influences. And unless these outside resources, regardless of their immediate objectives, include the education and progressive involvement of Apaches in all facets of community life, their benefits to the people will be short-lived and of questionable value.

Senator Kennedy of New York. The Special Subcommittee on Indian Education will be in recess.

(Whereupon, the subcommittee recessed at 3 p.m. subject to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

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